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## Near East/South Asia Report

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30 April 1984

## NEAR EAST/SOUTH ASIA REPORT

## CONTENTS

## REGIONAL AFFAIRS

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

- Inter-Arab Military, Strategic Organization Formed  
(AL-MUSTAQBAL, No 367, 3 Mar 84) ..... 1

## ARAB EAST/ISRAEL

## ISRAEL

- Ties With Greece Said To Be Mending  
(Lee Stokes; THE JERUSALEM POST, 14 Mar 84) ..... 3
- Conflict of Interest Between Refineries, Economy Explored  
(Shlomo Ma'oz; HA'ARETZ, 1 Mar 84) ..... 6
- Wage Erosion Plan Described  
(Pinchas Levinson; THE ISRAEL ECONOMIST, No 40, Feb 84) .. 8
- Briefs  
Black Hebrews Controversy ..... 11

## JORDAN

- Water Authority Projects, Operations Described  
(AL-RA'Y, 5 Mar 84) ..... 12
- Ministry of Health Reports Success, Plans  
(AL-RA'Y, 5 Mar 84) ..... 15
- Strategic Studies Center Established  
(AL-RA'Y, 7 Mar 84) ..... 19
- Briefs  
'Aqabah Import-Export Activity ..... 23

## LEBANON

Interview With Manager of Voice of the Mountain Radio Station (Ghazi al-'Aridi Interview; AL-NIDA', 18 Apr 84) .....	24
---	----

## SOUTH ASIA

### AFGHANISTAN

Articles Examine Current Situation in Country (BANGKOK POST, 25 Mar 84) .....	27
Journalist's Report, by Antero Pietila No News, Only Rumors Comradely Business Everything Is 'Normal'	

### IRAN

Superpowers Blasted for 'Playing Dangerous Games' Against Islam (M. J. Sahlani; TEHRAN TIMES, 5 Apr 84) .....	33
--	----

### PAKISTAN

Islamic Summits Bow to U.S., Fail To Deal With Israel (AMN, 26 Jan 84) .....	35
Efforts To Move U.S. Embassy to Jerusalem Condemned (Juma Khan; AMN, 17 Mar 84) .....	37
Argument Made for Inclusion of India in RCD (Jumma Khan; AMN, 20 Jan 84) .....	39
Sindhi Intellectual Says Provincial Autonomy 'Must for National Cohesion' (Ashraf Hashmi; THE MUSLIM, 21 Mar 84) .....	41
People Urged To Take Action To Save Pakistan (Mohammad Asghar Khan; JANG, 23 Mar 84) .....	42
Finance Minister Analyzes Economic Situation, Islamization Measures (BUSINESS RECORDER, 18 Mar 84) .....	47
Production of Commercial Steel To Start (BUSINESS RECORDER, 19 Mar 84) .....	53
Export of Cotton, Rice To Stay in Public Sector (THE MUSLIM, 20 Mar 84) .....	54
National Farm Research Plan Prepared (Khawaja M. Iftikhar; THE PAKISTAN TIMES, 20 Mar 84) ....	56

Some Industries Seen Flourishing (THE PAKISTAN TIMES, 22 Mar 84) .....	57
Zia's Interference in Electoral System Scored (Irshad Ahmad Haqqani; JANG, 19 Mar 84) .....	58
Pagara Says No Signs of Elections Yet (THE MUSLIM, 20 Mar 84) .....	60
Former Minister Warns About Election Delay (THE MUSLIM, 23 Mar 84) .....	61
NDF Leader Says Ji Can Join MRD (THE MUSLIM, 22 Mar 84) .....	62
Jamaat-E Eslami Faces Hard Choices on Future Role (JANG, 23 Mar 84) .....	63
Islamic System Will Rule Out Parties, Western Democracy (AMN, 27 Jan 84) .....	65
Broad Political Alliance, MRD Transformation Seen Possible (Ilyas Shakir; NAWA-I-WAQT, 10 Mar 84) .....	66
Muslim League, Tahrik-E Istiqlal Efforts To Reorganize Described (Syed Anwar Qidwai; NAWA-I-WAQT, 10 Mar 84) .....	68
Zia's Right To Amend Constitution Disputed (Editorial; JASARAT, 16 Mar 84) .....	70
Islamic Democracy Just 'One More Experiment' in Government (Juma Khan; AMN, 18 Mar 84) .....	72
Newspapers, Bureaucrats Aid Those Espousing Confederation (JASARAT, 18 Mar 84) .....	74
Bizenjo Strongly Critical of Government's Policies (THE MUSLIM, 20 Mar 84) .....	75
TI Leader Supports Direct Talks With Karmal Regime (THE MUSLIM, 20 Mar 84) .....	77
Country Said 'On Brink of Total Educational Chaos' (THE MUSLIM, 20 Mar 84) .....	79
Former Minister Offers Plan To Restore Democracy (THE MUSLIM, 22 Mar 84) .....	80
Jatoi Appeals for United Stand on 1973 (THE MUSLIM, 23 Mar 84) .....	82
Commonwealth Membership Viewed as Illogical, Valueless (Jumma Khan; AMN, 20 Jan 84) .....	83

Update of Oceanographic Survey Planned (Sikander Hayat; THE MUSLIM, 22 Mar 84) .....	85
Foundation Stone of New Air Force Complex Laid (THE PAKISTAN TIMES, 20 Mar 84) .....	87
Briefs	
Demand of Shia Ulema	88
Mazari Seeks Permission	88
Ji Said Holding Talks With PPP	88
Jui Leader Denounces Government	89
Law, Order Situation Criticized	89
Saudi Army Chief Arrives	89

#### SRI LANKA

PLO Envoy Denies Training Tamil Groups (THE ISLAND, 22 Mar 84) .....	90
Terrorist Training Bases in Tamil Nadu Exposed (Shekhar Gupta; THE ISLAND, 21, 22 Mar 84) .....	92
Articles Examine Terrorism in Country (DAILY NEWS, various dates) .....	101
National Security Minister's Comments Wiping Out Terrorism Three Policemen Killed in Attack Prime Minister Comments on Terrorism, by Tilak Senanayake National Security Minister Addresses Conference	
National Security Minister Comments on Terrorism (THE ISLAND, 10, 11 Apr 84) .....	105
Army Patrol Ambushed, by D.B.S. Jeyaraj Curfew in Jaffna	

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### INTER-ARAB MILITARY, STRATEGIC ORGANIZATION FORMED

Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic No 367, 3 Mar 84 p 45

[Article: "First Arab Organization Concerned With Military Affairs"]

[Text] A delegation of Arab military experts from the Middle East Strategic Studies Organization headed by retired Staff Lt Gen 'Abd-al-Hadi al-Majali, a former chief of staff of the Jordanian army and Jordanian ambassador to the United States, visited Amman last week. The delegation had held several meetings with a number of high-ranking political and military officials in Abu Dhabi during which the two sides discussed what military services and expertise this Arab strategic establishment can offer Abu Dhabi's army and the forces of the Gulf Cooperation Council.

It is worth noting that a group of retired high-ranking Arab officers recently formed an advanced organization for strategic studies whose objective is to offer modern studies on building new armies, developing armament, setting up military institutes, analyzing general strategic situations in any geo-political area, offering recommendations on the role of the armed forces in such an area, offering studies on cooperation between neighboring or allied armies and conducting studies on how to organize types of weapons for strategy and mobilization. It is under these particular headings that the organization's delegation, comprised of its chairman Staff Lieutenant General al-Majali and retired Staff Brig Gen Hassan Diya', made its visit.

Informed sources have told AL-MUSTAQBAL that Shaykh Zayid ibn Sultan, in his capacity as president of the UAE, which is a founding member of the Gulf Cooperation Council, will present to the Cooperation Council a plan submitted by the delegation of the strategic organization to build advanced cooperative defense among the Gulf states group. The Gulf Cooperation Council will examine this plan in the next meeting of its ministers of defense.

The sources have said that the plan submitted by the chairman of the Middle East Strategic Studies Organization includes a defense plan capable of protecting the Gulf oil pumped from the wells to Das Island where it is collected and shipped to all parts of the world. The plan

provides for securing fast moving means of defense that can protect the oil gathered at the island by a network of surface-to-air and surface-to-sea missiles set up along the coastline of Abu Dhabi which extends like a crescent and surrounds the island from 3 sides.

It is well known that this is the first time that a modern military studies organization has been formed in the Arab world and managed by purely Arab elements, namely a team of retired high-ranking Arab officers who graduated from the major U.S. and British military institutes. Consequently, it is the first time that Arab officers are undertaking the task of studying, developing and arming Arab armies without foreign assistance.

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CSO: 4404/393

## TIES WITH GREECE SAID TO BE MENDING

Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 14 Mar 84 pp 1, 3

[Article by Lee Stokes]

[Text]

ATHENS. — Current events are forcing Greece to re-examine its Middle East policy, and this may result in an improvement of relations with Israel.

Though Foreign Ministry officials insist that "our principles alone guide us," Western diplomats here see a new "maturity" in the handling of their foreign policy by the Greek socialists. One diplomat commented, "Greece has entered the age of *real politik*."

Thus, the Greek socialist government sees the inauguration of a House of Greece at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem this month and a visit to Israel by an Athens Chamber of Commerce and Industry delegation in May as a move in this direction.

Relations between the two countries reached an all-time low after the 1982 war in Lebanon.

Although both events are relatively low key, they form part of the government's discreet efforts to improve ties with Israel, beginning with culture and commerce, without provoking a backlash from either the staunchly pro-Palestinian and powerful left-wing of the ruling Pasok Party, the influential pro-Moscow Greek Communist Party (KKE), or the Arab states with which Greece has traditional friendly ties.

Yet Greece's first Socialist administration, which has been Israel's most ardent critic within the European Economic Community and the first EEC member state to grant full diplomatic status to the

PLO, is not the initiator of Greece's support for Palestinian self-determination.

Previous conservative governments also saw Greek interests as lying with the Arab world. For Greece's commercial ties with the Arab world remain strong, with almost a quarter of all exports or over 60 billion drachmas (\$600 million) going to the Arab states. Greece's geopolitical situation in the eastern Mediterranean also makes it sensitive to events in the Middle East.

Andreas Papandreou's strong support for the Palestinian cause, diplomatic sources here say, is both a continuation of the traditionally good ties Greece has enjoyed with the Arab world, and part of an overall policy to lessen Greek dependence on the West, and especially the United States. By improving ties with Greece's Balkan, Mediterranean and Arab neighbours, Athens thought it could act as a bridge between them and the West, while gaining from both political influence, trade and investment.

However, relations with Balkan and Arab neighbours have not improved significantly in the 30 months the Socialists have been in power, while Arab investments have failed to materialize.

Greece's rapid recognition of diplomatic status for the PLO delegation in Athens, its severe criticism of Israel's invasion and ensuing policies in Lebanon, added to its refusal to recognize Israel *de jure*,

have resulted in a backlash from the EEC and the U.S.

Diplomatic sources here point out that American Jewry has not been forthcoming in support of the Greek lobby's attempts in Congress to curtail aid to Turkey, while the European community has called on Greece to grant Israel full diplomatic recognition. At the moment, Israel has a diplomatic representation in Athens, equal in status to that of the PLO.

Such considerations, diplomatic sources say, have made it imperative for Greece to improve ties with Israel. But Greek officials deny that this will mean turning their backs on the Palestinian cause. "We do want to improve our relations with Israel," said a Foreign Ministry official who was interviewed. "But that doesn't mean we will accept Israel's foreign policy or change ours."

Pointing out that "while Israel follows its present policy, it would be difficult for any Greek administration, conservative or Socialist, to openly improve ties," the official expressed optimism that "through the commercial and cultural field, things can only get better. They certainly cannot get worse." But he ruled out *de jure* recognition of Israel. "That can only happen if Israel recognized the Palestinian right to self-determination," he asserted.

The inauguration of the House of Greece at the Hebrew University, paid for by donations from the Jewish community of Thessaloniki, will be attended by the secretary-general of the Ministry of Culture, Constantine Alavanos. Also attending will be ex-president Constantine Tsatsos, ex-culture minister Constantine Trypanis, and Mrs Helen Vlachos, the publisher of Greece's influential conservative daily *Kathimerini*, among others. "We hope that this event will show those who accuse us of anti-Semitism that the Greek state is encouraging closer contacts with the people of Israel, and we hope it will lead to more contacts in all fields," the official added.

The first official Greek commercial delegation to visit Israel since 1981, to be headed by the president of the Athens Chamber of Com-

merce and Industry, Lazarus Efraimoglu, is expected to arrive in May. "It had been cancelled twice before for political reasons, so we are keeping our fingers crossed that it will take place now," said Yosef Shochat, Israel's commercial counsellor here.

Both Greek and Israeli officials admit that trade between the two countries, which slumped in 1983 compared to 1981, when the Greek socialists came to power, could be much better. "We could easily double our trade to \$150 million a year," said Shochat adding: "And there is great scope for technical cooperation in the agricultural and manufacturing field, given that we share similar climates and therefore similar problems."

Greece has a balance of trade deficit with Israeli exports to Greece in 1982 amounting to about \$40 million compared to \$20 million worth of Greek exports to Israel. But last year 52,000 Israeli tourists visited Greece, spending an estimated \$30 million, compared to only about 4,000 Greek tourists, mostly pilgrims, who visited Israel last year.

The Foreign Ministry official pointed out that Foreign Ministry under-secretary Karolos Papoulias, who has in the past supported a number of Middle East initiatives announced by President Reagan, had expressed a desire to visit Israel during Greece's presidency of the European community. His visit did not materialize, because, according to diplomatic sources, the EEC did not want to risk allowing Greece to present community views in Israel.

But a visit to Athens by Israel Foreign Ministry Director-General David Kimche will be returned within the year by Ambassador Nikos Katapodis, director of the political affairs office of the Foreign Ministry, the government has confirmed.

Asked to comment on whether current contacts with Israel constitute an attempt by Greece to improve relations with Israel, and if so how far Greece is prepared to go, government spokesman Dimitrios Maroudas said yesterday: "The attempt to improve relations is coming from both sides. And I must

stress on this occasion that Greece is in favour of the existence and survival of the people of Israel in a climate of security, within safe borders. But Greece believes that the general problem of the Middle East cannot be solved unless the rights of all the people in the area are respected. Especially for the Israeli people, I must say that there is nothing which separates them from Greece. For during the critical moments under Nazi occupation, we supported them strongly, at least as strongly as the support given to the Greeks persecuted by the occupation forces.

"I also take this occasion to stress that the Greek people are one of those who have never exercised racial discrimination against anyone."

CSO: 4400/213

## CONFLICT OF INTEREST BETWEEN REFINERIES, ECONOMY EXPLORED

Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 1 Mar 84 p 10

[Article by Shlomo Ma'oz: "The Conflict of Interests Between the Refineries and the Market Has Caused Losses to the State"]

[Text] Uri'el Lynn, general manager of the Ministry of Energy, reported to HA'ARETZ that a program has been drawn up by the ministry of energy that is intended to reduce the costs of fuel to the economy by purchasing finished fuel products instead of crude oil. He stated that Israel will purchase about 10 percent of its fuel consumption in finished products; until now Israel has only purchased crude oil. Strangely, the energy ministry's budget figures do not show Israel purchasing any refined products abroad.

On the same matter Ron Mosinson from the budget branch of the treasury affirmed, in an appearance before the state comptroller's committee, that the proposal by the refineries of deals to export refined products is portrayed as utilization of the refineries' excess cracking and production capability in refining for foreign firms, but this ignores the fact that the source of the exported refined products is the economy's crude oil. In practice, Mosinson says, the quantity of refined products produced in Israel is 10 percent greater than the obligation to the economy, a surplus of about 300-400,000 tons a year. The amount of mazut produced is less than the obligation to the economy by the same amount. The value of the refined products is greater than that of the mazut by \$100-150 per ton. Export deals are a way of realizing this gap which comes to tens of millions of dollars per year. Similarly, in order to fulfill the refineries' obligation to the economy for mazut, the refineries privately import about half a million tons of heavy crude products rich in mazut and sulphur, refine them and thus meet their obligation in mazut to the economy.

The profits resulting from this exercise are split between the refineries and the economy. The economy's share of the profits is 60 percent, received through the fuel administration, for the petroleum price comparison fund.

Since in practice the refineries produce more refined products from the economy's crude oil and less mazut than they are required to return to the economy according to the agreement between them and the energy ministry's fuel administration, the division of profits is presented as payment for the refineries' use of the surplus cracking power for the export deals.

The fear is that because of the conflict of interest between the good of the economy and the good of the refineries, Israel has not in recent years purchased refined products abroad in accordance with her needs. Thus it has happened that in recent years Israel has not taken advantage of opportunities to purchase refined products at reduced prices abroad when they were cheaper than the crude. From mid 1979 until 1981 the purchase and refining of a barrel of oil increased by \$5, Mosinson says.

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CSO: 4423/42

## WAGE EROSION PLAN DESCRIBED

Jerusalem THE ISRAEL ECONOMIST in English No 40, Feb 84 pp 10-11

[Article by Pinchas Levinson: "Whither Wages?"]

[Text] What is happening to the wages of Israeli workers now that inflation is in the region of 300-400% per year?

By the end of 1983, the average gross salary in dollar terms was 18% below that of December 1982; (see chart), with net wages about 70% of this value. In the second quarter of 1983 real wages declined 7.5%. Wages rose again in July and August, counterbalancing September's fall, so that the third quarter witnessed a 5% increase in real wages. Yet, from July, net dollar wages were down some 38% by year's end.

From January to October 1983, the average gross annual income in shekels for city residents (family of 3.9 people and 1.3 salaries) grew from IS516,400 to IS870,200 but fell in dollar terms from \$14,060 to \$11,805, an annualized decline of 16%. This pushed wages back to the approximate level of May 1982.

The government plans to continue eroding real wages. In 1984, wage rises will deliberately be kept behind price rises by some 12% so that the average wage at the end of the year approximates that of 1981. November's 20.5% cost-of-living increase, which was meant to cover the previous three months, was eaten up by October's 21.1% index rise alone. November and December saw index increases of 15.2% and 12%.

Possibly the most tangible measure of decreased earning power of the 1.4 million member work force is the increase in the hours of work it takes to earn the same unit of consumption. One year ago, a kilogram of frozen beef took one hour of work (at the average net wage), while today it takes two hours. A kilo of chicken took 30 minutes; today it takes 51 minutes. A liter of milk

and a loaf of *challah* bread "cost" 4.5 and 2.5 minutes of work, respectively; today they "cost" 7.5 and 5.5 minutes, respectively. Both one kilo of sugar and 100 grams of peeled and roasted peanuts rose from 6.5 to 10 minutes of work time.

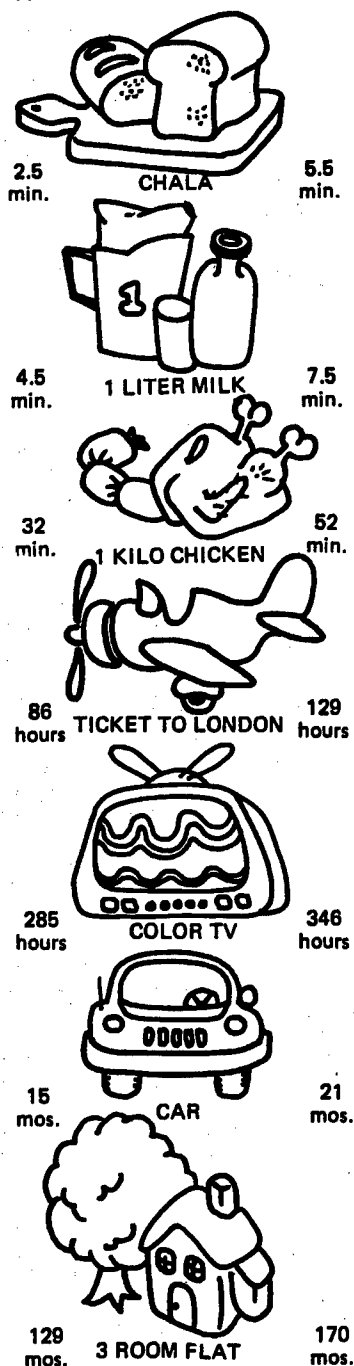
It took about 165 hours to earn a washing machine at the beginning of 1983; by year's end, it took 193 hours of work. Airfare to London took 86 hours in January 1983; today it takes 127 hours.

The two biggest purchases most of us ever make, automobile and apartment, took 40% and 32.5% more work time respectively. A Fiat 127 took 15 months to earn a year ago; now it takes 21 months; an average three-room flat in Holon took 129 months; now it takes 170 months. These statistics reflect the fact that the Fiat declined only 4.7% in price in real terms, while the apartment price declined from \$66,100 to \$61,000 (a fall of 6.8%).

Israeli industrial workers earn less than those of any other western country. The US tops the list, at \$11.79/hr, with Spain in second-to-last place, at \$4.99/hr; Israelis make only \$4.67/hr.

The picture is not so bleak with respect to unemployment. Israel has one of the lowest jobless rates in the industrial world, and actually registered a decline in unemployment in 1983. However, December may have been the turning point, for the number out of work for six weeks or more jumped 5.5%, rising from 9,541 to 10,070. Still, even this compares favorably with the 14,738

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JAN. 83 DEC. 83



unemployed in December 1982. The largest increase in the absolute number of unemployed was in Beersheva, which had 832 out of work in December, versus 548 in November — a 52% increase.

### Pensioners: 100% linkage

Unlike wage-earners, who receive only 85% of the increase in the Consumer Price Index in their tri-monthly cost-of-living increments, pensioners are fully compensated for inflation. At a monthly inflation rate of 15%, this difference amounts to the equivalent of two additional monthly salaries per year.

Since April 1981, workers have received a cumulative rise in nominal salaries of 500% while pensioners have received one of 606%. Of course, pensioners generally receive only 70% of their former wage, and lose the fringe benefits which do so much to support workers' standard of living (particularly in the form of subsidies to workers' automobiles). On the other hand, these fringe benefits are now being eroded even more than are real salaries. Car allowances are being cut and, in any event, are adjusted only twice a year — which at today's rate of inflation is enough to cut them to a tiny fraction of their original value.

Pensioners also receive an income credit to be used in calculating their income tax and an old age benefit amounting to 30% of their total salary. Until the 70s, a worker with 10 years' seniority received 35% of his pension rights, so that after three such jobs he would be entitled to 105% of these rights.

While no wage-earning class benefits from inflation, younger workers suffer the most. First, the beginning worker is poorly represented during salary negotiations, when one-time cost of living adjustments are being discussed. For example, during the salary discussions for 1982-84, senior grades received an effective 40% cost-of-living bonus in January 1983, while low-to-middle-grade workers received only a 17% bonus.

Second, inflation particularly devastates those with linked mortgages. Many young couples recently saw their IS19,800 monthly mortgage payment rise to IS30,000; 25-28,000 young couples with large families are expected to be unable to meet mortgage payments by May, with some 77,000 overall expected to face difficulties in meeting the commitments of their linked mortgages. In fairness to the government, it should be noted there is a worldwide trend toward increasingly costly mortgage debt. In the US, for example, payments on the average home bought today account for 40% of median family income, more than twice the proportion in 1968.

Finally, the burden of the latest proposals falls mainly on the shoulders of the younger workers in such measures as taxation of child allowance benefits, the lowering of salary adjustments and the abolition of free high school education.

### Possibly for change

In general, 1984 will be a difficult period for wage earners. The Treasury is cognizant of some of the problems and will propose a change in the system of wage-and-price indexation when discussions begin in March for the new wage agreement, which is to come into effect in April. The Treasury wants an automatic adjustment every time the monthly index rises above a specified level and not as currently, after three months.

The Histadrut is not satisfied with these proposals and is demanding fortnightly salaries, full linkage to the cost of living, continual adjustment of income tax brackets and credits. Histadrut spokesmen complain that 1983 saw taxes rise 186% on wages but only 122% on the income of companies and 153% on the income of the self-employed\*. Wage discussions will continue until formal negotiations begin in March.

The Ministry of Labor is considering steps to ameliorate the lot of workers. It may centralize job retraining, enable the transference of social benefits gained in one job to another job, lengthen unemployment benefits under certain circumstances from today's 138 days to as much as 175 days, and provide counseling and aid to companies in order to help them avoid discharging workers. It is also exploring the possibility of subsidizing the relocation of workers to new jobs, provided that these direct at least 25% of their production to export. It is considering limiting overtime in order to make room for new hiring, and limiting the employment of workers from the territories for seasonal labor, so as to protect workers who reside in Israel. Finally, it wants to make clear the benefits to which demobilized soldiers are entitled, and speed the granting of tenure to new immigrants working in the public sector.

Employment is inextricably tied to profitability, and the government must encourage the latter if it is to have any

positive effect on the former. Among the 77 possible taxes facing employers (up from 49 in 1981) is a 7% tax on employees in the commerce and service sectors. The Federation of Chambers of Commerce has recently charged that this tax causes damage to the economy by distorting factor prices. Their contention comes in the wake of the Treasury's request for a one year renewal of this tax. The tax was implemented to shift employees from the service sector to production, but with service employees comprising only 16.5% of all salaried private workers, little excess is available for shifting. The pernicious effects of the tax are felt throughout the economy, and regrettably the tax is not imposed on the public service sector, where the effect might be more true to the tax designer's intentions, namely, to cut out less productive employment. The revenues from the tax in the current fiscal year will amount to a scant IS8 billion, some 0.6% of the government's budget.

The public does have an understanding of the burden it must bear. But if it appears that the present government will be unable to cope, the public's patience and commitment will wane. In a December public opinion poll, 51.6% (versus 62.6% in April, 1983) of wage earners were prepared to forgo part of their cost-of-living adjustment as part of a national austerity budget. Forty-one point eight percent said they were unwilling, versus only 23% in April. Time is short and the remedy severe; it is doubtful that within the context of the current unstable government, measures drastic enough can be imposed. This is another motivation for early elections. ■

*Pinchas Levinson*

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*\*Additionally, the wage earners' share of income taxes rose from 43.7% in 1982 to 47.2% in 1983. Thus, while the tax burden on wage earners remained somewhat constant in 1983, in real terms the tax payments for the self-employed and for companies fell 20%.*

## BRIEFS

**BLACK HEBREWS CONTROVERSY--BEERSHEBA--**The Dimona municipal council had a stormy meeting on the Black Hebrews last week and resolved to pressure the government to act to solve the problem of the controversial group, THE JERUSALEM POST has learned. Meanwhile, highly-placed sources in both the Prime Minister's Office and in the Interior Ministry yesterday refused to confirm or deny reports that Yitzhak Shamir is now personally involved in the matter of the Black Hebrews of Dimona, Mitzpe Ramon and Arad. Some 1,000 Black Hebrews, including the group's leader, Ben-Ami Carter, live in Dimona. They live in a previously abandoned absorption centre on the edge of town. There are some 150 sect members in Arad, living in "six or seven apartments," according to mayor Avraham Shohat. In Mitzpe Ramon there are 200, in 18 apartments, according to Mayor Shmuel Cohen. Because the Dimona community is the largest, the pressure for a solution to the uneasy "status quo" is greatest there. But all three mayors told The Post yesterday that they feel the government must act on the matter soon and decide one way or the other : either to give the group some permanent status or to give them a settlement of their own. The mayors are aware of the political consequences of mass deportation. [Text] [Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 11 Mar 84 p 2]

CSO: 4400/213

WATER AUTHORITY PROJECTS, OPERATIONS DESCRIBED

Amman AL-RA'Y in Arabic 5 Mar 84 p 6

[Article: "Water Authority Chairman Says in Interview: We Aspire to Convey Water and Sewers to All Population Centers"]

[Text] Amman--Engineer Muhammad al-Kaylani, the Water Authority chairman, has said that the ambitions of the Water Authority center on conveying water daily to all population centers, on abolishing the system of turns currently in place and to give priority first to the population centers in the semi-desert and then to the rural and urban inhabitants.

In an exclusive interview with AL-RA'Y, Engineer al-Kaylani said: Our ambitions are focused in preparing a major working plan to convey water to the kingdom's cities and to population centers with more than 3,000 inhabitants each, according to the latest census conducted in Jordan in 1979. The plan will be studied this year. The construction of sewer networks will begin according to importance and on the basis of what the study demonstrates.

A detailed study will also be conducted on building sewer networks in the northern and southern al-Azraq, in al-Hashimiyah, al-Sukhnah, Abu 'Alandah, Jawah, al-Juwayyidah, Sahab, al-Fuhays, Mahis and Na'ur. Bids will be invited for the construction of these networks and of the treatment plants attached to them in 1985.

Answering a question on [sewage] treatment plants in Jordan, Engineer al-Kaylani said that a detailed study is being currently conducted on the treatment plants and sewage networks in al-Ramtha, al-Mafraq, 'Ajlun, 'Anjarah, 'Ayn Janna, Kufrinjah, Ma'daba, al-Karak, al-Tafilah and Ma'an. Bids for these projects will be invited next year.

Studies are also being currently conducted on building treatment plants for al-Baq'ah area sewers which serve al-Buq'ah camp, 'Ayn al-Basha, Safut and Suwaylih, as well as on a treatment plant for Wadi al-Sir which includes the town of Wadi al-Sir and a part of the nearby fields. Bids for this project will be invited at the beginning of 1985.

Regarding how the water situation in Jordan will be in the summer, especially in wake of the drought, Engineer al-Kaylani said that the situation is very reassuring. I can assure every citizen regarding the water situation next summer. The pumping of water will not be affected. Rather, it will improve further. The underground water stores are very reassuring, despite the drought.

He added that the Water Authority has completed transforming the water pumping process from intermittent pumping to permanent daily pumping in the city of al-Salt. A study is currently underway to transform the pumping in Irbid city to permanent pumping. This will be done in 2 months. Studies are also currently underway to evaluate the underground and surface water resources in all parts of the kingdom. The evaluation is being made now in the northern part of the kingdom and the study will be expanded to include all parts of Jordan.

Answering a question on the water bill, Engineer al-Kaylani noted that the current water tariff is no more than some sort of a control or a safety valve to curb the meaningless waste of water. The purpose of this tariff is not commercial because the Authority deals with services and has no commercial objective. The water revenues do no more than cover some of the authority's recurrent expenses. I can assure you that 95 percent of the citizens have no complaint about the water bill. There are more than 200,000 subscribers in the kingdom, 75,000 of them in the capital. As for the complaints we receive, most of them are either because of the accumulation of water bills or because of a break resulting in the wasteful leakage of water. As for breaks occurring in the water meters, the authority does its duty in this regard and repairs such meters. The authority also reassesses the readings in a bill in case any flaw is found in the meter. I can ascertain that the authority's main interest insofar as the issue of water is concerned is focused on the popular quarters which are voicing no complaints whatsoever because their water use is very limited and because no home in these quarters pays more than 100 fils daily for water costs. This is not a financial burden.

Engineer al-Kaylani has also stated that the authority will exert efforts to electrify all the artesian wells and to terminate the use of diesel fuel on which the wells are operated now. The authority will do so with the objective of insuring a constant pumping of water throughout the 24 hours of the day. The authority will then seal the wells because there will be no need for workers to be there and because there will be no more problems.

Regarding control over the pumping of water from the wells to the plants and then to the reservoirs, Engineer al-Kaylani said: Radio equipment will be installed for this purpose. This system is currently applied in Amman, al-Salt, Yajuz and al-Qastal and will be applied in the other parts of the kingdom next year. When this equipment

is installed in the pumping plants in al-Za'tari, al-Dulayl, Hawfa, Abu Hammur and in the pumping plants in al-Karak, al-Tafilah, Ma'an, al-'Aqabah and al-Disah by the end of this year, these plants will be connected with the radio equipment in Amman.

It is worth noting that a number of engineers and technicians watch the water situation in the reservoirs and make detailed reports on this situation throughout the 24 hours of the day. Moreover, there are direct communications between them and the Water Authority chairman who is kept constantly informed of the water situation and who issues his instructions to the officials concerned via this radio equipment. [While being interviewed] Engineer al-Kaylani contacted from his office the official in charge of preparing the reports and the latter supplied him immediately with a detailed report on all the reservoirs in the capital and its suburbs.

It is to be noted that after issuance of the royal decree on the law concerning the Authority, this Authority will include within its jurisdiction the water and sewage departments previously under the control of Amman Municipality, the Drinking Water Organization, the departments concerned with water studies, drilling and irrigation in the Natural Resources Authority and some specialized departments of the Jordan Valley Authority, in addition to the water departments of the municipalities.

8494

CSO: 4404/393

MINISTRY OF HEALTH REPORTS SUCCESS, PLANS

Amman AL-RA'Y in Arabic 5 Mar 84 p 8

[Article: "Report Prepared by Ministry of Health Reviews Working Plans to Achieve Objective of Health for All by Year 2000; Efforts to Open Health, Maternal and Child Care Centers in Various Areas"]

[Text] Amman--The Ministry of Health has prepared a report on the progress achieved in implementing the national strategy and the working plans seeking to achieve the objective of Health for All by the Year 2000.

The report states that the necessary criteria have been established to evaluate the progress made in achieving this strategy and that a committee has been formed in the Ministry of Health to evaluate the progress made in the various elements of primary health care. This committee meets regularly and studies the plans of the various departments and branches entrusted with offering primary health care, reviews the plans and accomplishments and makes the decisions necessary to direct the services in the manner that crystallizes the objective.

Moreover, local committees have been formed of center doctors, local leaders and socially prominent figures to study the needs of each local society, to find out its health problems and to propose plans to deal with these problems. We have begun to receive reports from these committees. These reports are studied and the committees are provided with instructions through the representatives of the Ministry of Health in these committees. The clinics and health care centers section makes constant visits to these clinics and centers to evaluate their activity in the sphere of primary health care.

Training courses in primary health care are given to those found, through the visits, who need booster courses and re-training, keeping in mind that all of them have been trained previously.

Priorities have been established for opening health, maternal and child care centers in all parts of the kingdom and such centers are opened according to priority and to the available resources.

Coordination is established between the ministry and other public and private organizations and international organizations concerned with primary health care, such as vaccinations, controlling intestinal diseases, protecting the environment from pollutants, and maternal and child care.

#### International Decade of Drinking Water

A central authority in charge of all the water and sewerage services in the kingdom has now been established, whereas these services were previously divided and within the jurisdiction of several agencies, with the purpose of achieving the objectives of the International Decade for Drinking Water and Environmental Protection Studies on implementing water and sewerage projects in the various parts of the kingdom are being carried out according to the available resources.

An advisory meeting on environmental health research was held in cooperation with the WHO from 18-21 December 1983 and was attended by representatives of the Ministry of Health. The meeting discussed how to conduct research in the sphere of environmental health and how to bolster environmental health projects in the developing countries.

The ministry cooperates with the other sectors concerned with water supply and environmental protection in conducting bacterial tests for drinking water to verify its fitness for consumption and on waste water to make sure that the treatment plants are performing well. The ministry offers these sectors technical advice on the suitability of drinking water and on environmental protection.

Health enlightenment and education campaigns are carried out in the sphere of drinking water protection and preservation and the sphere of waste disposal.

Control activities are carried out in the sphere of environmental protection and of protecting the sources of drinking water from environmental pollution. Training is given to the workers in this field.

Cooperation is established with the other authorities concerned with setting the proper criteria concerning the quality of drinking water and irrigation water.

In the sphere of mutual coordination with the WHO to bolster the health programs:

The program for the control of intestinal diseases has been bolstered and the training centers for oral rehydration have been supplied with the means of education and training.

A seminar on intestinal diseases was held in August 1983 at al-Bashir Hospital and Princess Basmah Hospital; WHO experts and doctors of the Ministry of Health took part in this seminar.

Preparations have been made to hold a seminar on malaria research from 31 March--4 April 1984.

A seminar on primary health services, with special emphasis on maternal and child health care, will be held from 17-21 March 1984. Two WHO experts have arrived and discussed matters pertaining to this seminar with the national preparatory committee. The bases for convening this seminar have been established.

(Ashnord), a WHO expert, has visited the Ministry of Health and discussed with the health care officials the problem of leishmania, the communicability of the disease and the means to control it. Dr White, a WHO expert in vaccination, has also visited the health care department and discussed with the officials the possibility of conducting a study, subsidized by the WHO, on infantile tetanus and poliomyelitis.

#### Arab Regional Program

This program's activities include:

Translating WHO pamphlets and publications into Arabic. These include:

WHO FACTS magazine, WORLD HEALTH magazine, public health pamphlets, unserialized publications, selected educational materials, such as "Work Guide in Primary Health Care," WORLD HEALTH PODIUM and serialized technical reports.

Issuing other publications and pamphlets in Arabic, amounting to nearly 50 books and pamphlets and including: "A Guide to Entomology," "A Guide to Treating Acute Diarrhea," "A Guide to Cholera Control" and "A Simple Guide to Intestinal and Other Diseases."

Publishing a number of pamphlets explaining terminology to help health workers in their daily activities, including a ninth review of the international classification of diseases, translation of Arab periodicals and writing teaching and learning materials in Arabic.

#### Medical Research Advisory Committee

Insofar as Jordan knows, the committee has not held new meetings.

We plan to refer to this committee a number of studies to find out the possibility of having the committee adopt and finance them, such as the study on animals harboring leishmaniasis in Jordan. Some preliminary studies conducted on this issue indicate that the (larger) sand jerboa is one of the animals harboring the disease in the infected

area. The leishmaniasis parasite has been isolated from this animal. Studies are being conducted also on the sand fly, which transmits this disease.

A study is also being carried out on infantile tetanus and poliomyelitis in the kingdom. This study is in its final phases.

#### Continuing Education of Health Workers

A center for continuing health education has been set up in the Jordanian University and it held a meeting at the Jordanian University from 12-16 February 1984. The most important general objectives of the meeting were:

Discuss the needs of the health workers, including the doctors, insofar as continuing health education is concerned.

Review the various systems of continuing education and the means to develop and modify them to fit the country's needs.

Prepare simplified and effective means to provide continuing education within the limits of available resources.

Prepare a plan to implement the continuing education programs.

Discuss the administrative and logical aspects pertaining to continuing education activities and propose the means necessary to boost this education.

8494

CSO: 4404/393

JORDAN

# STRATEGIC STUDIES CENTER ESTABLISHED

Amman AL-RA'Y in Arabic 7 Mar 84 p 8

[Article: "Establishment of Strategic Studies Center at Jordan University Approved; Preparation of Political, Economic, Military and Social Studies and Observation of Events Concerning Jordan, Palestine and Arab Homeland"]

[Text] Amman--Dr 'Abd-al-Salam al-Majali, the president of the Jordanian University, has approved the decision made by the Council of Deans to set up a strategic studies center at Jordan University as of 4 March 1984.

The directives concerning the Strategic Studies Center state that this center is one of Jordan University's units and is tied directly to the university president. The center seeks to conduct studies and research on the political, military, economic and social aspects of national and pan-Arab issues pertaining to the area's security and affecting its future. The center's efforts shall focus on Hebrew studies and on observing and documenting whatever pertains to Zionism.

Following is the text of all the directives adopted by the Council of Deans and approved by the president of Jordan University:

Article 1. These directives shall be called "the directives of the Strategic Studies Center of the Jordan University for 1984" and shall go into effect as the date of their publication.

Article 2. The following words shall, wherever they occur in these directives, have the meanings defined for them hereafter, unless otherwise indicated by the context:

The university: Jordan University.

The center: The Strategic Studies Center.

The president: The university president.

The council: The Center's Council.

The director: The Center's director.

Article 3. The center is one of the university's units and shall be tied to the president.

Article 4. The center shall seek to achieve the following tasks:

A. Conduct studies and research on political, military, economic and social aspects concerning Jordan and the Arab homeland connected with this area's security and affecting its future.

B. Observe and document all events pertaining to Jordan, to Palestine and to the Arab homeland.

C. Focus on Hebrew studies and observe and document all that pertains to Zionism.

D. Gather information, studies and reports serving the center's objectives.

E. Keep informed of the intellectual, social, economic, political and military trends in the world and become familiar with these trends.

F. Establish regional studies, such as American, European, Israeli, Soviet, African, Asian and Chinese studies, in cooperation with the university's colleges and departments.

G. Put the information available to the center and the results of the studies and research it conducts at the disposal of concerned circles, with the means the center sees fit and in accordance with instructions established for the purpose.

H. Meet the need to conduct the studies and research asked of the center in accordance with its capabilities and with special instructions established for the purpose.

Article 5. The center shall seek to achieve its objectives with the following means:

A. Assign researchers from within the university and from outside to conduct studies and research and to offer advice compatible with the center's objectives.

B. Organize conferences, seminars and courses on important local, regional or international issues.

C. Publish research and studies in accordance with what the center deems fit.

D. Issue a specialized periodical.

E. Cooperate and coordinate with the centers, institutes and establishments with similar interests and objectives.

Article 6, A. The center shall have a special council called the Center's Council. This council shall be comprised of 11 members appointed by the president after consultation with the Council of Deans.

B. The council shall consist of:

1. The university president, chairman.
2. A representative of each of al-Yarmuk and Mu'tah Universities.
3. Three individuals from official establishments.
4. Two individuals with experience and interest.
5. Two members of the university's teaching faculty.
6. The center director, who shall act as the council secretary.

Article 7. The Center's Council shall undertake the following tasks:

- A. Formulate the center's policy, approve its programs and plans and supervise their implementation.
- B. Discuss the center's draft budget, prepared by the director.
- C. Discuss and approve the annual report on the center's work and activities.
- D. Examine any other issues pertaining to the center's objectives.

Article 8. The center shall have a director appointed by the president for a renewable term of 2 years.

Article 9. A. The director shall assume the responsibility of managing the center's activities in a manner that insures the good progress of its work and implementation of the decisions and plans approved by the Council in accordance with the university law, regulations and directives.

- B. Recommend the names of employees to be appointed in the center to the Council chairman.
- C. Prepare the center's draft budget.
- D. Prepare an annual report on the center's work and activities.

Article 10. The appointment of employees in the center shall be subject to the university's regulations and directives.

Article 11. An annual sum shall be allocated in the university budget for the center's expenses.

Article 12. The center may offer its services to Jordanian and Arab society.

Article 13. The center may accept grants and donations.

Article 14. The university president shall be responsible for the application and implementation of the provisions of these directives.

8494

CSO: 4404/393

JORDAN

BRIEFS

'AQABAH IMPORT-EXPORT ACTIVITY--Amman--The number of ships frequenting al-'Aqabah Port from the beginning of last year and until the end of November 1983 amounted to 2,242 ships, compared to 2,364 ships frequenting the port in the corresponding period of 1982. The statistical report issued by al-'Aqabah Port Bureau on ship traffic through the port in the said period states that the volume of goods exported by way of the port amounted to 4,633,932 tons, compared to 3,553,631 tons for the corresponding period of 1982. The report notes that the volume of goods imported from the beginning of last year and until the end of November 1983 declined amounting to 5,558,501 tons compared to 7,312,288 tons in the corresponding period of 1982, keeping in mind that the 1982 imports included transit goods imported for some Arab countries. The report adds that passenger traffic on arriving ships dropped, amounting in the said period to 240,396 passengers compared to 253,866 passengers in the corresponding period of 1982. Regarding loose phosphate shipped through the port, the report notes that the volume exported through the port amounted in the said period to 3,270,963 tons, compared to 3,288,301 tons in the corresponding period of 1982. [Text] [Amman AL-RA'Y in Arabic 5 Mar 84 p 2] 8494

CSO: 4404/393

INTERVIEW WITH MANAGER OF VOICE OF THE MOUNTAIN RADIO STATION

Beirut AL-NIDA' in Arabic 18 Apr 84 p 6

[Interview with Ghazi al-'Aridi by Anwar Daw'; date and place not specified]

[Text] AL-NIDA' met with the broadcast director of Voice of the Mountain, Ghazi al-'Aridi and the following interview took place.

[Question] Was the creation of the Voice of the Mountain radio station intended to compensate for the great information shortcomings of the last 2 years?

[Answer] To begin with, I must point out by way of self-criticism and objective criticism of the experience of nationalist activity in Lebanon the weakness and absence of nationalist information agencies, sometimes because of weak capabilities and also because of indifference. What we see in contrast is official media which go back to 1943 flowing out in service of the regime of privileges and political Moronism. The citizens are not given a true nationalist guidance. Moreover, it favors one Lebanese sect over another. Naturally, this media has had a great effect on the course of events, especially since 1975, and even on the establishment of Voice of the Mountain radio, because in addition to the official radio and television, Phalange broadcasting begun in 1975 and it helped ignite the civil war and distort and misrepresent it. It played a major role by launching systematic propaganda campaign: against a particular nationalist cause or nationalist stand or nationalist leadership.

We know that for 9 years the Lebanese citizen has been interested in listening to the news and keeping up with it especially when the security situation is tense. The Phalangist broadcast joined up from 1975 to 1982 with the official Lebanese broadcasts in transmitting facts incorrectly in the interests of the sectarian separatist plan, creating an impact--we admit that here objectively--in the hearts and minds of the Lebanese despite the fact that they would discover the next day they broadcast some untrue news item.

When Shaykh Amin al-Jumayyil obtained his present position, the official radio and television united with the Phalangist radio in support of the family rule. That came about from the procedure imposed on the official information

media and from the appointments made in the Ministry of Education and the National News Agency, which was turned over to prominent members of the Phalangist Party. We all know that Amin al-Jumayyil also decided to implement the censorship law, thereby preventing the nationalist press from carrying news and statements of leaders opposed to the Phalangist regime. It also prevented them from talking about the massacres that occurred in various places for which the Phalangist authorities are responsible because of the actions of their army and gangs. The sectarian authorities likewise prevented the entry of some foreign newsmen who at times reported some events that condemn Amin al-Jumayyil's government and regime, for example, the story of the Sabra and Shatila massacres, the account of which was withheld in Lebanon while Israel itself announced the Kahane Commission inquiry.

In view of this stand at the peak of the struggle between us and President Amin al-Jumayyil, we found it necessary to use the propaganda weapon together with the military and political weapon in our nationalist struggle, so we had to set up the Voice of the Mountain radio station. We cannot say it is in our power to compensate for the inadequacy of nationalist propaganda over many years by a few days or months of broadcasts but we can say we have begun to pave the way.

[Question] What role has broadcasting played in this stage of history?

[Answer] As you know, the start-up of the broadcasts is closely associated with the political and military stage in which many of the rules and proposals are changing in Lebanon. We were involved in the war in the southern suburb, the liberation of West Beirut, and the operation of Amir al-Sayyid 'Abdallah in western shahar. I can say that the broadcasts played an important political role in achieving nationalist goals by reporting the news and events truthfully since in doing so we built confidence and credibility in the broadcasts, by following the news relating to security minute by minute and bringing it to the citizens with candor and honesty, and by revealing the methods used by the regime, especially in connection with what happened in Kfar Matta after the discovery of the bodies of the innocents who were killed last September by the army of the ruling family and the Phalangist Party. We all know that the head of the government at that time concealed the massacre and denied it. Against this background we were reporting the true political attitude of the principal political opposition leaders toward the Phalangist regime. This gave free scope to all those who for a year and a half had been prevented from speaking by the Phalangist regime.

It is generally known that the Progressive Socialist Party control broadcast policy, thus placing a specific political imprint on it. Therefore, our basic intention is to set forth publicly the nationalist Lebanese case in all its aspects and political, educational, intellectual, social, economic, and trade-unionist ramifications.

Our intention is for the station to be the station of the nationalist political leaders, ordinary citizens, factory workers, public school and college students, and farmers. We are therefore concentrating on direct meetings with citizens in all parts of the country and with the political leaders active in them.

[Question] What difficulties are you encountering because of operating in a region that has been historically neglected as far as services are concerned, not to mention difficult communications?

[Answer] The problem we face is maintaining communications. As you know, a radio station relies mainly on an extensive network of contacts to confirm news and information.

We are in a historically deprived region where all kinds of communications do not function. It has been deprived of many resources because of the sectarian policy, which has been devoted in the last year and a half to the rule of the Jumayyil family.

However, the will of our people and family, which frustrated the sectarian Phalangist plan in the mountains and inflicted defeat on "political Marionism" unparalleled in Lebanon's history, is also felt in our broadcasts. We surmounted most of the difficulties in one way or another. As for world news, we receive it directly in the editorial office. The main source is in Europe and it is transmitted by advanced technical equipment. We obtain local news through a private communications network and through special means.

[Question] What are your future plans, especially in regard to programs?

[Answer] We come now to the complete programming cycle over a period of 3 months for 16 hours daily which will begin the middle of this month.

[Question] What are the types of programming?

[Answer] The programs are varied and fall within the political framework that we spoke about--cultural, political, and hereditary. We hope the Voice of the Mountain radio station will occupy a distinguished place among the local and foreign stations, win the trust of the people, and fulfill in good faith the mission it has undertaken, for we are, in the end, the party of Kamal Junblat. The Voice of the Mountain radio station is his voice, which was a voice for all the honorable citizens of Lebanon and for all the afflicted poor wherever they are and the voice of humanity and of man. The Voice of the Mountain radio station must complete the mission for which our teacher Kamal Junblat was martyred.

5214

CSO: 4404/412

ARTICLES EXAMINE CURRENT SITUATION IN COUNTRY

Journalist's Report

Bangkok BANGKOK POST in English 25 Mar 84 p 1

[Article by Antero Pietila: "Land of the 'Holy War'--Four Years After the Kabul Coup..."]

[Text]

AS NIGHT falls on the snowy mountains around this ancient Central Asian capital, giant searchlights go on at nearby guard posts.

Their ruthless beams scan the mountain sides of the old Bala Hisaar fortress, now a key Soviet outpost. They then drop down and sweep over neighbourhoods of mud houses before penetrating the nooks and crannies of government buildings, factories and warehouses.

These truck-driven searchlights were designed to spot aircraft in World War II. Now they are deployed to hunt out the Mujaheddin, the Islamic guerrillas who four years ago declared a jihad (holy war) against the regime of Babrak Karmal and the Soviet invaders who lifted him to power.

For two weeks in January, I observed those searchlights from my hotel window, where I was confined by the nightly curfew. I was here thanks to a rare visa the Afghanistan Government had issued.

Ever since the Christmas Eve invasion of 1979, it has been almost impossible for non-communist journalists to enter Afghanistan legally, though many have ventured here on missions with Mujaheddin groups. Now, apparently, the Karmal regime wants to let some correspondents in — usually from Moscow — to support its claim that it is in control.

On the basis of my two-week visit, it is evident that while Kabul and some other cities may be in govern-

ment hands, fighting is continuing and is widespread.

"As you can see, everything here is normal," was the standard morning greeting from my government-appointed guide and interpreter.

Outwardly, that often seemed to be true within central Kabul. The bazaars and food shops were filled with people and goods from all corners of the world. Heavily guarded government offices seemed to function normally; traffic jams developed on narrow streets, and old men in their turbans squatted endlessly on their colourful carpets in tea houses, smoking long-stemmed water pipes, sipping sweet green tea and chattering in their variant of old Persian.

But there were constant reminders of the reality of this war-torn land, reminders like the wandering searchlights at night, or the gangs of Afghan soldiers who kept stopping military-age young men and checking their documents.

I saw many men, with documents considered unsatisfactory, being dragged away from their wailing sisters or girl friends — presumably straight to the barracks and war.

True, on most nights the searchlights apparently spotted nothing and the curfew remained unbroken. But on a few nights, the pops of gunfire were heard and sometimes even in the daytime the distant echo of artillery fire echoed from the mountain range.

And there were other reminders.

Throughout my stay, I kept asking my Afghan guides to take me to the

areas outside Kabul. In the end, I managed to get out of the city twice. The first time was to a protected village five miles away. In the early stages of the guerrilla war it had been attacked repeatedly, its schools and government buildings destroyed. Now, at least in the daytime, it seemed secure enough to be shown to a visitor.

## Destruction

The second time, two West German journalists and I were flown to Jalalabad, a city near the Pakistan border, about 100 miles from Kabul.

According to diplomats, we thus became the first Western journalists to be allowed outside Kabul city limits for well over a year. We could stay in Jalalabad only three hours. But even that brief time was enough to show us a Soviet presence much heavier than that evident in Kabul.

The manager of a state farm talked about the continuing destruction that the guerrilla war is causing. Such frank official interviews were rare.

"Everybody is afraid," a 29-year-old teacher whispered. "Everybody is afraid, everybody suspects everybody else," she said.

Her words were repeated many times. The message was also silently delivered by people — including foreigners — who broke off conversations or refused them altogether once they were told they were talking to a reporter.

The apprehension is mostly created by fear of the Khad, the regime's KGB-styled and advised secret police. But it is also created by an uncertainty about tomorrow, rumours and some unmistakable signs of the regime's lack of control.

One of those signs is the daily trouble with electricity. Even in the best of times, the electricity supply has been erratic. Now, it has reached a point where large areas of Kabul may be without electricity for days. Even the downtown office area is subjected to so many daily blackouts that shopkeepers are buying portable generators.

There are two reasons, aside from low water levels, for the electricity trouble.

Early in January, the Mujaheddin successfully attacked the Soviet-built Nughlu hydroelectric power plant. According to an Afghan official, it was the 11th attack in a year.

The other reason is that as fighting between the guerrillas, government units and the Soviet troops continues in the countryside, the relatively safe capital has become a haven for refugees.

It is now officially acknowledged that the city's population, estimated in 1978 at 800,000, has virtually doubled to more than 1.5 million. But Said Marthaza, Afghanistan's deputy planning director, insisted in an interview that people's "motivation to leave the provinces is to get better jobs."

The exodus of refugees out of Afghanistan has been even more dramatic. About three million Afghans — one-fifth of the population — have sought safety in neighbouring Pakistan and Iran. They constitute the largest refugee concentration in the world.

In the four years since the Red Army invasion brought communist leader Babrak Karmal to power, government and Soviet troops have gained control of Kabul and most of the other key cities, though sporadic fighting occurs in some of them.

But much of the countryside is either in the hands of several rival Mujaheddin groups or local chieftains, who throughout Afghanistan's long history have never really recognised any central government. Thus, the Karmal regime's inability to collect taxes, added to a sizable trade deficit last year, had made the country increasingly dependent on Soviet aid.

The government's statistics show that much of the country is in ruins. Marthaza, 40, a Soviet-trained planning official, said that 1,800 schools, clinics, roads "and even mosques" have been destroyed in the fighting.

He estimated the devastation at 24 billion afghanis (about \$480 million), which is more than one-third the total development aid the country received in the 20 years before the invasion.

The scale of destruction is minutely detailed in the government's statistical yearbook, a document that even counts Afghanistan's telephone booths (there were just 109 of them in 1982).

Between 1979, when the fighting started, and 1982 — the latest year recorded in the publication — the length of Afghanistan's telephone lines decreased from 10,941 miles to just 4,421 miles. In the same time, the amount of distributed internal mail dropped from 27.1 million pieces

to 6.8 million.

Other information also speaks of the government's lack of control. Adela Baba, a senior official of the ruling party's women's organisation, revealed in an interview that her group has not been able to establish a local structure even on paper in Lowgar Province, which starts just 30 miles outside Kabul.

According to Mawlawi A. Wali Hujat, president of the government Islamic Affairs Department, his unit still lacks representation in two of the country's 28 provinces for "safety" reasons.

A key reason for the regime's lack of control in many areas is that the Soviets, after some early mistakes and heavy casualties, decided not to bother with sections of Afghanistan that are of no immediate value. The thinking seems to be that the marginal areas will fall in line once the Karmal regime steadies its control in key regions and the important supply lines that keep it in power have been secured.

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## Satisfactory

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Along with Kabul, the estimated 105,000 Soviet troops concentrate their efforts on controlling the major cities along those supply lines.

The Karmal regime's ability to control these routes seems to change from day to day. Nevertheless, the highway link from the Soviet border through Kabul to Pakistan is in such generally satisfactory working condition that a major Japanese shipping agency uses it, rather than the Pakistani port of Karachi, for transporting 90 per cent of its cargo to Pakistan, including all auto parts.

"Of course, we lose some shipments, but we really don't lose them because insurance covers everything," a source said. But the route is so unpredictable that while it takes one month for the shipments to reach the Afghan border through Siberia by train, two months must be reserved for the short trip to Pakistan.

Many villages along highways have been destroyed in order to create free-fire zones. That was apparent as I surveyed the Kabul-Jalalabad road from the air. Also evident were several armoured personnel carriers and tanks that had been positioned at strategic points along the road to protect convoys that

may consist of as many as 40 vehicles. Later, on a flight from Kabul to New Delhi, I saw some of the devastation of the countryside from the air.

While many villages appeared perfectly normal, there were others where the neat patterns of traditional walled-in compounds of mud houses had been disturbed, indicating ground-fire destruction. Several villages also had been reduced to mere rubble, a clear evidence of aerial bombardment or concentrated artillery and mortar fire.

In Kabul, the numerous Soviet troops keep a low profile: They guard key intersections, Soviet installations and Microrayon, a Soviet-built mid-rise neighbourhood where many of Moscow's advisers and most of the ruling party's elite live.

Other duties have been left to Afghan units, which range from police and paramilitary forces to conscripts and a multitude of civil defence and security groups.

In the fighting in the countryside and near Kabul, the civilian population not committed one way or another finds itself in the middle. "They came knocking on my door at 9:30 p.m. December 21," said a taxi driver, who lives in a mountainside village seven miles from Kabul.

"We had had lots of gunfire in the area and I had no idea of whether they were the government, the police, thieves or 'the others'," he said. The night visitors turned out to be a group of "the others," a euphemism for the Mujaheddin used by people who fear to speak of them openly.

They marched in carrying automatic rifles and machineguns and asking where the taxi driver kept his gun. He said he had no gun. The Mujaheddin responded by demanding that he give them 10,000 afghanis, an amount equivalent to about five months' pay for most Kabul residents.

The driver protested he had no money. The Mujaheddin simply began dragging him out of the house in front of his crying 70-year-old mother, frightened wife and five children.

The mother pleaded with the guerrillas not to take away her son, the sole provider for the family. When the guerrillas finally let him go, they said they wanted him to buy two green army jackets for them.

"You know what?" he recalled. "They sent somebody to get them in broad daylight the very next day."

## No News, Only Rumors

Bangkok BANGKOK POST in English 25 Mar 84 p 1

[Text]

KABUL — Each week, two somewhat overlapping groups of Western diplomats meet here, compare notes and the rumours they have heard, and decide what's happening in Afghanistan.

They report their consensus, with personal variations, back to their capitals. Sometimes, their information ends up in newspapers throughout the world, usually as stories quoting diplomatic sources in Islamabad, the capital of Pakistan, and New Delhi, India's capital.

"I gather rumours," one diplomat said when asked how he tried to piece Afghanistan's puzzle together. He added: "I am used to getting my information first-hand from the officials of the host country, but here I am cut off from all contacts."

Part of the diplomatic community's isolation is due to a situation unique in history. It is not uncommon for foreign governments not to recognise a new regime for days or weeks after a coup d'etat. But most Western nations have withheld their recognition of the Babrak Karmal regime since the Soviet Union put it into power four years ago.

What is even more unusual is that, even as non-recognition continues, many governments have sent replacements for their departing charges d'affaires, but without a formal appointment or presentation of credentials.

"You may view me as the caretaker of my government's property," one diplomat said in his heavily protected embassy. He quipped that the only time he had contact with the Afghan Foreign Ministry was "if we are not happy about the supply of whisky."

Diplomats acknowledge that finding out what's going on is difficult, particularly because none of them are allowed to travel outside Kabul. Even in the capital, information-gathering is not easy. Many Afghans want no truck with foreigners because of their fear of the security police, and once-frequent social contacts have virtually ceased.

The fear is so pervasive that one diplomat could not get an Afghan physician to visit a sick family member until the doctor was met elsewhere in town and then driven, hiding his face, in and out of the embassy past government security agents.

Foreign missions do have their contacts, however. The Pakistanis even have a consulate in Kandahar, the second-largest city. The Indians also used to have a consulate there, but it was hit by a Soviet rocket.

"Afghanistan is a very clannish country," one diplomat observed. "If anything major happens, the news gets back to Kabul very fast."

But another diplomat said stories about events outside Kabul are told "in an Oriental manner; they exaggerate regularly."

The diplomats also can read *Kabul New Times*, a four-page daily newspaper in English in which the Afghan Government publishes its pronouncements. The paper is impossible to find at newsstands. When a visiting reporter asked whether he could have a copy delivered to his hotel, he was told by an official, "I'm afraid that is not possible. We publish that newspaper just for diplomats. You know, there is no news in this country."

## Comradely Business

Bangkok BANGKOK POST in English 25 Mar 84 p 1

[Text]

KABUL — On Chicken Street, they don't like Russians because soldiers in the Red Army have no money.

"Look at that," one shopkeeper muttered scornfully, pointing to a pressure cooker next to a stack of hand-knit wool sweaters. A Soviet soldier had exchanged the cooker for a sweater, he said, adding, "I had no choice. Business is bad."

In the days when tourists still came to Afghanistan on their way to India and Nepal, Chicken Street

was a stretch of thriving souvenir shops. Almost anything could be bought there, from sweaters and leather goods to antiques, carpets and, occasionally, hashish.

The only steady customers on Chicken Street these days are Soviet soldiers and about 6,000 civilian specialists that Moscow has sent here. But, because ordinary Red Army conscripts are paid only 200 baht a month, they have little

money, though some are known to have exchanged their shoes for Chicken Street's wares.

Some soldiers do have money, and Chicken Street merchants say they know why.

"They kill people in the villages and steal their afghanis," one merchant charged. Though Soviet military police patrol Chicken Street whenever Red Army members are present, a vast black market in Russian goods has developed there.

On the lower part of the street — where groceries and specialty food stores stand next to chicken stalls that once gave the street its name — shelves are filled with Soviet canned goods, biscuits, preservatives. Ample supplies of Caspian Sea caviar are available at prices so low they would make a Muscovite weep.

All those articles, knowledgeable sources say, are trafficked by Soviets from army and civilian commis-

saries in payment for other goods.

The go-betweens in most cases are boys who have developed some facility in Russian and greet any foreigners with "tovarich" (comrade) and "eedee sooduh" (come here).

In a bazaar downtown, boys similarly are acting as go-betweens for Soviet soldiers trafficking in captured or stolen weapons, even jeeps, it is said. Because of the Chicken Street merchants' contacts, all kinds of stories, true and false, can be heard there, most of which must be taken with more than a grain of salt.

Many of the merchants moonlight as police informants. In fact, it is almost impossible for a foreigner to stay in any of the street's stores for longer than a few minutes without some other merchant coming in to check what time-consuming business is being conducted. — IPS

### Everything Is 'Normal'

Bangkok BANGKOK POST in English 25 Mar 84 p 1

[Text]

**JALALABAD** — Arriving by air in this market city of orange and palm trees and camels near the Khyber Pass is like arriving in a Soviet city.

The airport has been so totally taken over by the Soviets that only the city's name on the camouflaged control tower remains in Arabic script. Five other signs on the building are in Russian.

Afghan guards are not even permitted past the outer perimeter that forms the first defence of an elaborate security system protecting at least two dozen Soviet helicopter gunships, transport planes and sophisticated radar installations.

Jalalabad is a key city in the Soviet effort to crush the Mujaheddin and destroy their supply routes from Pakistan. It also is a city that controls the southern end of the most important highway in Afghanistan.

In the four years since the 1979 Soviet invasion, Jalalabad has become known as one of the safest cities in the country from the government's standpoint.

Even in recent times, however, the airport has been attacked at night and two Soviet-manned armoured personnel carriers were stationed in front of the Communist Party headquarters the day I visited Jalalabad.

Along with two West German journalists, I was flown here for

three hours in mid-January to see that "Western reports about fighting in Afghanistan are untrue and everything is normal."

We were the first Western journalists allowed to get outside Kabul for more than a year, diplomats said later.

Our group's arrival — we were travelling with two reporters of the government's Bakhtar news agency as our guides — appeared to surprise Jalalabad officials, who did not hide their desire to get us back to Kabul as soon as possible. A hasty programme was arranged.

Even in three hours, it was evident that the Muslim holy war against the Moscow-installed regime is taking a heavy toll.

"It's not over; it continues," said Anwar Spinrar, manager of a state farm one and a half miles from Jalalabad's centre.

His 10,900-acre farm was established with Soviet help on newly irrigated desert land 10 years ago and now employs 1,294 workers.

The 38-year-old manager said he was not competent to talk about the situation outside his farm.

His farm, he added, had lost 30 of its 37 tractors and 10 of its 16 trucks to guerrilla activity in two years.

In the same period, 24 of the workers' children had been killed by land mines and 52 injured, according to Spinrar.

He said the mines had been laid

by guerrillas. It is known, however, that Soviet helicopters have dropped thousands of camouflaged butterfly anti-personnel mines in the area to prevent guerrilla activity.

Asked about the latest incident, Spinrar said it happened at sundown late last year.

Guerrillas, who had been destroying power lines, attacked the jeep carrying the farm's director of irrigation, the controller of water and their driver, he said. After spraying their bodies with machinegun fire, the guerrillas burned the jeep.

"We didn't show their bodies to their families because they had turned to ash," Spinrar said.

CSO: 4600/476

## SUPERPOWERS BLASTED FOR 'PLAYING DANGEROUS GAMES' AGAINST ISLAM

Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 5 Apr 84 pp 1, 3

[Article in "Message of Today" column by M.J. Sahlani: "Superpowers' 'White Lies' & 'Yellow Rain'"]

[Text] Conspirators at Stockholm and world news media at different points had been recently promoting rumors to the effect that Islamic forces of Iran have "withdrawn from their strongholds at the Majnoon Islands due to their fear of Iraqi chemical warfare."

The unfounded allegations of withdrawal reflect the same spirit of all futile moves by the Superpowers and their satellites in upholding support for Saddam's chemical assailings against Iranian defenders.

At the outset, the widescale application of chemical weapons and the consequent obscurities created by US uproar on Iraq's usage of the lethal arms was coupled with dubious approval, by world media and US allies, of the biological-bacteriological bombings.

All in all, the Western and the Eastern camps on the one hand gave "white lies" to blindfold world with exhibition of their clever hypocritical stand and sent showers of 'yellow rain' for Iran on the other hand.

Through these measures, the Superpowers infact fell into their own trap: They condemned their own system and displayed their own double standards via unavailing attempts to portray themselves as sympathisers of human race as these same powers were the direct cause of imposition and continuation of the Iraqi war through Saddam Hussein and the supply of chemical arms to the Ba'athists.

Therefore, for these obvious reasons, the big powers not only refrained to name Saddam as launcher of the new inhuman aggression but also failed to identify sources of the deadly supplies to Iraq, for obvious reasons.

To sum up: the supporters of Iraqi war waged against Iran, and the suppliers of arms and ammunitions to the Ba'athist regime, have condemned themselves by condemning the latest Iraqi onslaught.

Not lagging behind from the West, the aggressor Eastern power, communist Soviet state, also equipped Saddam Hussein with poisonous gas and destructive far-range missiles.

All these dangerous games were being played to thwart, as the Eastern and Western officials have said on many occasions, "a possible expansion of true Islamic ideology to the whole region."

The basic ingredients of latest conspiracies masterminded under the direction of those international forces pursue the same pattern with manifold objectives such as: (a) intimidating the Islamic fighters of Iran and weakening their power of combat, (b) creating anxiety within Moslems in Iran, (c) forcing Islamic Iran to cease its defense, accept a ceasefire (d) controlling the Islamic regime in Iran to refrain from liberating Islamic lands in future. Their tactics, however, turn out to be fruitless.

Hence the world media agencies initiated their subsequent anti-Iran campaign and have even proved their superiority over Adolf Hitler's propaganda mastermind Gobles in the Second World War. One such instance is the issue of supposed "fear of chemical warfare" and "withdrawal of Iranian troops" from the island. The enemies will, undoubtedly, never succeed in their fresh maneuvers as their repeated failures in the past indicate.

Another misleading example is the news carried by wire copies on reported "discovery of a chemical warfare shipment destined to Iraq, and its confiscation at New York customs," with over 500 kgs of the contents "capable to produce anti-nerve gas" and chemical weapons.

The incident reveals the same intentions as outlined above, plus the distorting Superpower drive to build up an atmosphere of terror by hypocritically implying that (a) Iraq can import chemical weapons from anywhere and simply develop it as chemical weapons to be used in the war, (b) confiscation of the shipment at New York comprises only one such instance, and (c) the US blocked the onward journey because it "genuinely" opposes the lethal deployment.

Above all, the misrepresenting statements aim at pre-meditated strategy for creating a false ground on the lines that the super criminal American power opposes Iraq and supports Iran.

However, this Superpower battle evidently formulated to defeat Iran will not bear any result. The reason is obvious for all the world to judge: The country's Islamic administration has survived crisis of far greater dimensions in the past and the Islamic defenders will tackle the recent issue with the same faith and dedication as they had always displayed under more severe circumstances than the recent times.

CSO: 4600/507

# ISLAMIC SUMMITS BOW TO U.S., FAIL TO DEAL WITH ISRAEL

Karachi AMN in Urdu 26 Jan 84 p 2

[Text] The Fourth Islamic Summit ended in Casablanca without formulating any plan of action for the problems confronting the Islamic world today. The problems that confronted the Third Islamic Summit in Taif 3 years ago were still there, problems such as the Iran-Iraq war and the issues of Afghanistan and Iraq. Jerusalem is still in the possession of Zionists and Muslims are being slaughtered in Africa. Many Islamic countries are struggling just to survive. And yet the discord among Muslim countries is so deep that they do not have time for anything but warmongering among themselves.

You can look around the Islamic world and you will not find a single stable government. Not one example of a government where people fully support it. Either the governments are monarchies or military dictatorships. They need the support of the superpowers to stay in power. Therefore, they do not care for public opinion. As a result, there is no such thing as human rights in those countries. Why go far; look at Morocco. On one side there is an Islamic summit taking place and on the other, people are demonstrating against food prices. According to latest reports, about 200 people have died in these food riots and hundreds have been injured. Thousands have been imprisoned. Tanks are moving on the streets and helicopters are flying low. How much unity and amity there is can be gauged by the fact that they cannot even agree on the election of the secretary-general.

The purpose of these Islamic conferences is to remove the differences and misunderstandings. Rather than doing that, even here the countries put the interest of their master, the U.S., before the interests of the Islamic community. They turn into a mere echo of America.

Rather than ingratiating Iran, which boycotted the conference on the basis of certain differences, conference members consumed their energies in trying to restore the membership of Egypt--a country that has diplomatic relations with Israel, a country that signed Camp David peace accord. The vote for Egypt's membership was 32-6. The delegations of Libya, Syria and South Yemen walked out of closed sessions. Six countries, including Algiers and Upper Volta, did not participate in the voting process. There was no consensus on a single issue, an indication of the deep differences among the Islamic heads of government. Certain leaders were justified in their objection to the

restoration of Egyptian membership. Egypt has failed to annul the infamous Camp David accord. It has not severed diplomatic relations with Israel. It has refused to deny the existence of Zionists. Yet its membership in the Islamic world was restored. Obviously, this happened on American initiative.

It has been a long-time tradition of Islamic leaders to decide issues through consensus. But the imperialist strategy ended it this time. The Egyptian issue won out over Islamic solidarity. And it created one more rift in the Islamic fabric.

Iran had refused to participate in the conference on policy grounds. And yet no effort was made to persuade it to change its decision, although the purpose of such Islamic conferences is to bring about amity and harmony among the Islamic nations. The conferees, on the other hand, stuck to their loyalty to America. And like the United States they have a grudge against Iran. Willy nilly, because of some influential Arab countries, effort was made to ingratiate Iran. However, the effort was abandoned no sooner than it was started.

Ever since Israel came into existence, conditions for Muslims have been turning bad. Arabs do bear responsibility in this regard. Though there are only 3.5 million Jews, there are 100 million Arabs, who are far more wealthy and prosperous. They surround the Jews, which puts them strategically in a disadvantageous position. And yet, it is ironic that the Jews dominate the Arabs. Why? Can't the Arab leaders solve the Israeli problem once and for all? Yes, but at the risk of offending their master, the United States. The U.S. regards the presence of Israel as necessary for controlling the oil wells of the Middle East. If the countries in the Middle East had stable democracies, they would have nothing to fear. They could afford to be free in their domestic and foreign policies. As things stand now, the rulers of the Middle East fear they will be out of power if they offend the United States.

Has anybody thought of a crusade? A crusade against Israel? Is Israel so powerful that all the Muslim countries combined cannot overcome it? Words and nothing but words come out of the conferences, whether they be about the Afghan issue or some other issue. If we give an ultimatum to Israel to vacate the Arab lands, desirable results could occur. I am sure the people would be willing to fight if the rulers would show some courage.

9859

CSO: 4656/87

EFFORTS TO MOVE U.S. EMBASSY TO JERUSALEM CONDEMNED

Karachi AMN in Urdu 17 Mar 84 p 2

[Article by Juma Khan: "Conspiracy To Move the American Embassy From Tel Aviv to Jerusalem"]

[Excerpt] All countries of the world, including the United States, accept the UN Charter, which forbids the use of force and the occupation of another country's territory by means of aggression. The U.S. Charter enjoins all countries to prevent an aggressor from enjoying the fruits of its aggression. Israel attacked one of America's close friends, Jordan, and occupied vast areas of its territory, including Jerusalem, which is the original holy city of the Muslims [in the beginning, Muslims faced towards Jerusalem when praying]. Israel has now made Jerusalem its capital, and by transferring its seat of government from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem has clearly declared its intention not to return that city to Jordan. Both Jordan and Israel are friends of the United States; but such is America's shamelessness and lack of honor that it has failed to prevail upon one friend to return the territory of its other friend or even to prevent its friend from moving its capital to Jerusalem. There is now a campaign under way in the United States to move the U.S. Embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem, and an effort is being made to have a law passed in the Congress to that effect. U.S. leaders who profess friendship for the Arabs maintain that since U.S. embassies are located in the capitals of other countries, the U.S. Embassy in Israel also should be moved to Jerusalem. The U.S. secretary of state, Mr Shultz, is against this campaign to move the embassy; he stated that if this move were to take place, a storm would rise in the Islamic world against the United States. Whether or not such a storm breaks out in the Islamic world, one fact would be clear to the world, namely, that the United States is not only the friend of an aggressor but also allowed it to profit from its aggression. In other words, the United States would acknowledge Israeli occupation of Jerusalem as being legitimate and thus move its embassy to that city, when under the principles of the UN Charter, the United States has the responsibility to see to it that Israel returns every inch of captured Arab territory.

If the United States was sincerely concerned about Arab or Muslim interests, it would not have kept the Palestinians homeless. It would have respected the feelings of 1 billion Muslims and seen to it that territory occupied by Israel was returned to the Arab countries. But the friendship that the

U.S. professes for certain Muslim and Arab countries is devoid of sincerity and aimed at creating dissension. The United States holds only its own interests dear and on many occasions has abandoned its sincere friends in midstream in their time of trouble. It has proved to the world on more than one occasion that it is a most undependable friend.

History shows that the United States helps only those friends who acknowledge it as their master, who dance to its tune, wag their tails like dogs when the United States whistles and are willing to sacrifice even their freedom in order to further American interests.

We cannot make Pakistan a colony of the United States nor are we willing to give military bases to it. We do not intend to make Pakistan one of the states of the United States and add one more star to the American flag. Because of this, the United States will help us only to the extent that we are willing to cooperate with it and will abandon us whenever it chooses to do so. We need sincere friends, no masters.

We acknowledge no master except God.

We place our trust in God, but we do not have have 1 percent faith in the United States.

If the United States should move its embassy to Jerusalem, regardless of what happens or does not happen in other Islamic or Arab countries, the United States will have no friends left in Pakistan. This sacred soil of the lovers of the Prophet Mohammad and believers in the one God will become as inhospitable as Iran to the United States.

9863

CSO: 4656/115

ARGUMENT MADE FOR INCLUSION OF INDIA IN RCD

Karachi AMN in Urdu 20 Jan 84 p 2

[Column "From Jumma Khan's Pen"]

[Excerpt] Some time ago, Iran proposed that Pakistan, Iran and Turkey again revive the RCD [Regional Cooperation for Development] treaty. This regional agreement was an economic one whose goal was to increase cooperation for the development of all three countries. Despite these efforts, however, no satisfactory benefit resulted from this treaty. One reason for this was that in each country a different language is spoken. Their political interests were also different, and there was also no concordance in their economic conditions. In the face of political, economic and religious differences, there cannot be effective cooperation in any field and there is no way to achieve the desired results.

When the old RCD treaty was still in force, many economic experts proposed that at least India and Afghanistan should be included in it. However, this proposal was not accepted. But now a prominent Muslim League figure, Mr Haroon Ahmad, has repeated the suggestion. His position is that the inclusion of India and Afghanistan in the new treaty would greatly benefit the other member countries, increase mutual trust, help to lessen tensions and also quicken the pace of economic progress.

In my opinion, the reason why it would be impossible for Afghanistan to be included in the RCD is that Pakistan does not recognize the present Government of Afghanistan, and India will probably not be included because it might dominate the markets of the other participating countries and because it is not a Muslim country.

If we want to sign cooperation treaties with neighboring countries solely for economic progress, then we should not differentiate between Muslim and non-Muslim countries. If we can sign trade agreements with America, Britain, Japan and other such non-Muslim nations, then why prevent India from being included in the RCD? Without question, India has made considerably more progress than Pakistan, Iran and Turkey in many areas. The standard of its manufacturing is high and also its goods are inexpensive. However, this matter can be solved through the quota system, as in the EEC. The technology

we obtain from overseas countries is very expensive. When neighboring countries start to help each other, then this technology can be obtained at a lower price. On the basis of the exchange of goods among ourselves, trade can also be given a boost. The participating countries can also start joint developmental projects in each other's countries. Pakistan and India have already agreed to increase cooperation with each other in economic and trade areas. If we were now to get India's cooperation in the RCD, then all of the countries will benefit greatly. There is no harm in this.

12565

CSO: 4656/79

# SINDHI INTELLECTUAL SAYS PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY 'MUST FOR NATIONAL COHESION'

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 21 Mar 84 p 8

[Article by Ashraf Hashmi]

[Text]

ISLAMABAD, March 20: Syed Ghulam Mustafa Shah, a renowned Sindhi educationist and a former Vice-Chancellor of the Sind University, said here today that for the time being there was no secessionist movement in his province. But he warned that the situation could change if the present state of affairs was allowed to continue.

In an exclusive interview with 'The Muslim', the Professor, who had the honour of working with the Quaid-e-Azam, regretted that 'We have drifted far away from the democratic ideals of the Founder of the Nation'. He expressed the opinion that it was only through undiluted democracy that the country could be kept intact.

He insisted that no purpose would be served by denouncing the democratic system as according to a famous saying the remedy to the ills of democracy is more democracy just as the remedy for the ills of education was more education. Democracy in the country, he said, should not only be restored but should be allowed to flourish as the survival of the country depended on it.

He strongly opposed the idea of restricted franchise and said that the general elections in the country should be held strictly on adult franchise as any qualifications invented for the voters would render the entire exercise meaningless. He said our people were fully mature and whenever anything was referred to them they gave a correct decision.

When asked to comment on the President's plan of August 12, he said it seemed to him that the President had not so far made up his mind about many things. The present position was therefore somewhat confused and many people doubted whether elections would be held at all.

Talking about the demand for more

provincial autonomy, he said, the time had gone when the demand for effective provincial autonomy was considered seditious. The autonomy of states today is recognised all over the world. This, he said, is constitutionally guaranteed in a number of societies more homogenous than ours. He said it was no use denouncing the slogans for provincial autonomy and demands for a federation or confederation. The smaller provinces have "an inherent right of self-rule and this right should be respected if we want to live as a united country", the Professor added.

He emphasised that Punjab has to play a pivotal role in maintaining national cohesion and creating confidence among the smaller provinces. It was the demand of the time that Punjab should play the role of a loving and affectionate big brother. The country, he said, belonged to all of its inhabitants, and should not be monopolised by one section, class, race or province. Our staying together, he remarked, mainly depended on Punjab. We have shown what kind of a country we want and now it was for Punjab to be more generous and magnanimous in this respect.

Referring to the MRD's movement in Sind, Mr. Ghulam Mustafa Shah refuted the claim of its detractors that it had died down in the province and added, 'on the contrary it is growing in the minds and hearts of the people'. He said the MRD had gone through a baptism of fire and blood and had emerged stronger than before.

He said calculated efforts were now afoot to disrupt the MRD and suggested that the movement should not allow itself to become a victim of the counsels of people like Sardar Qayyum, Maulana Kausar Niazi and Pir Pagara. He opposed the idea of Jamaat-e-Islami joining the Movement and said 'what was happening between the Government and the Jamaat at present was no more than a "noora kushti"'.

PEOPLE URGED TO TAKE ACTION TO SAVE PAKISTAN

Karachi JANG in Urdu 23 Mar 84 pp 3, 22

[Article by Air Marshal (ret) Mohammad Asghar Khan: "The Future of Pakistan" introduced with the following notation: "The editors do not necessarily agree with the view expressed by Air Marshal (ret) Mohammad Asghar Khan in this article"]

[Excerpts] The dangerous turning point at which the Pakistani nation stands today is the logical result of the country being led down the wrong path for many years. It is not necessary to discuss which ruler utilized political power during a specific period. Whoever he may be, he simply represented an administration. However, the methods of operation and viewpoints of those rulers were different. This difference was similar to the difference in personalities of the three military rulers in Pakistan's history. Nevertheless, relevant to the direction toward which the military rule is leading the country, this difference bears great significance. The more important thing for us is to make a close study of the present intervention of the army in Pakistani politics, something that could prove to be conclusive in this country's history.

The vital creation of the current administration is the Federal Advisory Council, or the Majlis-e Shura. It is a great irony that the majority of the members of the Federal Majlis-e Shura themselves are the product of that very political process that was declared harmful for the country. Ninety percent of those nominated members had clear connections with one party or the other in the past. There are many among them whom the people always rejected in the elections. The present administration had declared many of these individual incapable of participating in politics because of their past corruptions and political cheating. The two important responsibilities suggested for the federal Majlis-e Shura were to accelerate the process of molding the society into the Islamic system of values and to smooth the path to the restoration of democracy.

As far as the first responsibility is concerned, when, despite the full use of force for the past 6 1/2 years, even the marshal law administration has failed to establish an Islamic society, what can a helpless and powerless Shura do? As for the other responsibilities, it is extremely ludicrous that an organization that will ultimately terminate its own be entrusted with responsibility for establishing such a system. What can this Majlis-e Shura do besides advising on Islamic measures of a routine and ordinary nature?

It is impossible for the Shura members to eschew privileges and false political importance and relinquish their personal status or be bold enough to make any effort to weaken the military regime. The present benefits of sticking with the power are too alluring for these spongers and flatterers, who in the past, too, were never able to abstain from them.

It is obvious that our rulers have no intention of quitting power. Therefore, how and when will marshal law end? This question arises in the mind of every political observer interested in Pakistani affairs. With regard to this question, it is essential to analyze what achievements the current administration has scored so far and what their future impact on the country will be.

Included in the big steps to be taken to enforce an Islamic system in the society are the enforcement of zakat, emphasis on prayers, punishment for not fasting during the month of Ramadhan, keeping profit and deficit accounts in the banks, the establishment of Shariat courts and regulations for government employees to wear the national dress. These measures are such that instead of displaying the true spirit of Islam, more stress is being laid on propaganda and the execution of formalities. This is a method of not reaching to the depths of the real problems and of diverting people's attention from them. On the other hand, these measures have strengthened trends causing dissension, sectarianism and retrogression in the society.

No true fundamental change has been created in the basic structure of the society. Since this society is acquiring a more and more extortive form, from the standpoint of its nature, it is therefore non-Islamic. Big capitalists have been granted full freedom. Their roots are gaining strength with the restoration of their contacts with more powerful capitalists. Corruption is out of control, and due to censorship of the press this practice has further increased. Addressing the opening session of the federal Majlis-e Shura, President Ziaul Haq himself admitted that there has been a tremendous increase in corruption during the 4 1/2 years of marshal law. The rate of bribery has increased considerably from the previous administration, and a task that could previously be accomplished with 50 rupees now requires 500 rupees.

This sort of disorder and confusion in everyday life exists in many other departments as well. Despite propaganda about Islam's social and economic justice, differences between the rich and the poor are increasing day by day.

The steps taken with regard to the establishment of an Islamic society are adversely affecting the country's livelihood. Nevertheless, the heavy foreign exchange being remitted by Pakistanis overseas, and the great economic aid being granted by the Western countries due to the presence of the Soviet forces in Afghanistan, are the two economic factors that to some extent are helping the administration, and for this very reason, the administration has also been able to control what is a highly unsatisfactory economic situation in the country. Over the past 4 years, due to the timely rains, the country's food situation has considerably improved. Nevertheless, inflation is gradually increasing. The living conditions of an ordinary person have never been so adverse as they are today.

The generals of the countries of the Third World present military rule as a justification for eliminating corruption and correcting the law-and-order situation in a country. However, the experience in Pakistan proves that due to strict policies, corruption and law and order, instead of improving, have further deteriorated. Ignoring the needs of people has been a common tradition of the bureaucrats. Today, however, it has strayed too far from reality, something that never happened before. People cannot be supervised effectively unless there are institutions representing them. The councilors elected at the district level and below are at the mercy of the district administration, and the divisional commissioners can cancel the membership of the elected representatives. Councilors at the provincial and federal level also depend on the bureaucrats and the police for their election to the provincial and federal councils. Their establishment is itself a huge waste of the national wealth. Since these institutions cannot provide any assistance to the people to solve their social, economic and political problems, their very existence is meaningless.

On the ideological front, the administration's step forward is becoming a prelude to numerous dangers for the country. It has been said many times that there is no place in the country for the enemies of the ideology of Pakistan or for elements that are not "good Muslims" and that they will be annihilated. The consequences of the enthusiastic propaganda launched against these people through the provincial governors, federal and provincial ministers and the means of communications under the administration's control can be extremely dangerous for the country. The definition now being given for the ideology of Pakistan was never perceived by Quaid-e Azam. Pakistan's perception, which the father of the nation presented while addressing the Constitutional Assembly in Karachi on 11 August 1947, was, "You are free now. With the independence of the country, you are free to go to your temples, mosques and other places of worship in the state of Pakistan. The state has nothing to do with what religion, caste or tribe you belong to.... I feel that this should be our ideal. With the passing of time, you will see that a Hindu will no longer be a Hindu and a Muslim will no longer be a Muslim. This, however, is not on religious basis, since religion is every person's personal belief; rather it is political, based on being citizens of one state."

Furthermore, who is a "good Muslim" and who is not is just an opinion, and the history of Islam is full of tales about the perpetration of such tricks against political enemies. Pakistanis are already accustomed to the spread of such incidents. In this country, the governments in power have usually called their political opponents unpatriotic and traitors. Now, however, along with being unpatriotic, they are also being labelled as antireligious.

The logical result of this policy is that a clear division has been formed between the rightists and the leftists and the self-styled patrons of the ideology of Pakistan and those who hold a different viewpoint about the establishment of Pakistan; so much so that within the rightists, a clear rift exists between the defunct Jamaat-e Islami and other staunch Muslims. They strongly disagree with the Jamaat-e Islami's ideology about the Islamic society; so much so, that they do not even regard them Muslims.

On the social and economic field, due to an ever-increasing gulf of wealth between the privileged sectors and the bureaucrats, those who control the people's fate, and the nonprivileged sector and the exploited labor sectors, there clearly exists a great difference. On the other hand, vast economic differences among the landless peasants, small farmers and landlords is highly conspicuous.

For quite some time, the defunct Jamaat-e Islami's intervention in the administrative affairs of the educational institutions has been increasing. It has played a vital role in transferring or terminating the employment of many teachers by accusing them, according to its own thinking, of not being good Muslims. This adversely affects the country's educational standards. In this country, the certification of knowledge is possible only when someone obtains a certificate of the defunct Jamaat-e Islami's brand of Islam. Such obstacles in the acquisition of knowledge can prove highly damaging. If the lines of the "cultural revolution" that the defunct Jamaat-e Islami wishes to bring about are following, the country will very soon face its retribution, since they are unable to understand the speed at which this country needs to move forward in order to keep pace with advancements in universal progress.

In the name of Islam, the reality that no society can be Islamic without social and economic justice, and without granting specific individual freedoms to the citizens is ignored. The Pakistan of today is already far from justice and equality in the social and economic field, but as far as human rights and the freedoms of a citizen are concerned, the administration has pushed the country away from these values, which play a fundamental role in an Islamic society.

Under such circumstances, therefore, for the delegates of the British Parliament and the American Congress, during their tour of Pakistan, to declare nominations to the Majlis-e Shura as a positive step toward the restoration of democracy and to laud the administration's role in the region was not unexpected.

It is highly inappropriate to call an institution like the so-called Federal Council a "Majlis-e Shura", when it comprises the habitual "yes, sirs," agents of the administration, stooges of the bureaucrats and individuals guilty of corruption in politics. Obviously, the foreign patrons of the administration have not yet realized that the support of the people rather than that of the dictators can prove most beneficial.

A correct estimate of the possible implications of the exploitation and harassment of the people can only be had when we keep in view the world situation as well. No profound contemplation is required to understand that if Pakistan wants its neighboring countries not to interfere in its internal affairs, it will have to improve conditions in its own country. Under such circumstances, therefore, the vital need of the time is the unity of the nation, not confusion. The history of the subcontinent bears witness to the fact that whenever the people here were oppressed by the local rulers, they obtained help from outside. It is quite possible that if the present conditions continue for long, the oppressed and dissatisfied elements in the country will try to seek help from foreign powers. If the administration

continues to follow this course, in order to get rid of such situations, these elements can also start an armed struggle with foreign aid. Bearing in mind the armed opposition against the Soviet Union and the Afghan Government by the Afghan Mujahidin present in Pakistan, the initiation of such an armed struggle in Pakistan would not be surprising.

If this commotion is not ended, and unity and oneness is not established by granting an opportunity for the political institutions to work, such a situation cannot be prevented. With the dangerous geographical environment of Pakistan, such a situation will push the country into a grave civil war, whence it will be impossible to retreat and protect the nation. The self-styled guardians of the country's ideological and geographical borders will devastate and destroy the remaining part of the country in the same way a "self-styled guardian" of the country's ideological and geographical frontiers previously destroyed Quaid-e Azam's Pakistan.

There is only one way to stop the process of confusion and destruction that has now reached its extreme. Despite extremely unfavorable circumstances, the people should in an effective manner exhibit their strength and a desire to protect the country. If the people and the country do not see the looming dangers and the gravity of the situation, and if they do not make a conscious effort to bring about a change in the country, they themselves will be responsible for their destruction. It has happened many times in history that nations were obliterated from the face of the earth, because they were no longer their sense capable of perceiving the dangers confronting their country and had refused to harken to warning the voices. At certain times, in the drowsiness of suicide, nations go so far that it becomes difficult for them to come back. After a time, they realize that they themselves were responsible for their destruction.

If the Pakistani nation does not change the current situation, future historians will write that, God forbid, Pakistan after only a brief existence, got erased merely because its people had decided not to learn a lesson from their mistakes. Their eyes could not read their fate, and they gave full authority to their rulers for their destruction and annihilation.

9779

CSO: 4656/122

FINANCE MINISTER ANALYZES ECONOMIC SITUATION, ISLAMIZATION MEASURES

Karachi BUSINESS RECORDER in English 18 Mar 84 pp 2, 9

[Text]

ISLAMABAD, March 18: Ghulam Ishaq Khan, Minister for Finance, urged the entire economic profession in Pakistan to devote their energies to research on translating Islamic ideas into practical measures and institutions for Islamising the economy and the society.

The Minister made these remarks while inaugurating the annual general meeting of the Pakistan Society of Development Economics held in Islamabad on Saturday last.

Following are excerpts from his address.

The economic profession in Pakistan has made a remarkable contribution to the understanding of national economic problems. A large body of literature has developed which provides considerably insight into the functioning of the economy. This has helped to raise the level of policy-formulation and decision-making, thus influencing the pace of economic development in the country.

Pakistan's economic progress since its independence in August 1947 has been a remarkable success story in the Third World's

overall struggle for economic independence during this period. The nation has a right to be proud of its record of achievements in the past, without, of course, being complacent about the future. Economists and policy-makers of the country can justifiably share this pride, as they had a direct role in building the economy on sound lines during this entire period.

The economy of Pakistan witnessed an average growth rate of 5.2 percent annum - if we take the entire period of 34 years from 1949-50, when the first national accounts were prepared for the country, to 1982-83. With an average annual increase of 2.9 per cent in population during this period, per capita incomes have been rising at a steady rate of 2.3 per cent for a sustained period of three-and-a-half decades. There are a number of experts who believe that the growth in the GDP has been considerably underestimated in Pakistan over a number of years, especially during the latter part of the seventies and the early eighties. I leave such controversies to be resolved through further research by economists and statisticians.

Pakistan's growth record even without any adjustment for the suspected underestimation is in many ways a unique performance. In overall terms, it is not uncommon to find countries that have registered much high growth rates for certain period in their history, associated with certain favourable factors. However, there are relatively few countries which can claim long-term, sustained, high growth.

According to the World Economic Report 1983, out of about 120 countries in the world for which comparable data are available, only 40 were able to maintain an average growth rate of 5 per cent or more during the period 1960-81.

In this list, there are six countries whose income is substantially derived from production and export of oil. Among others, 10 countries relied heavily on commercial borrowing and the majority of them have since been overtaken by serious debt crisis. The steady long-term growth performance of Pakistan's economy thus stands out as belonging to a highly select group of developing countries in the post-war period, particularly among the countries with a large population.

It may be noted that as many as 19 countries recording growth rates in excess of 5 per cent during the 1960-81 period belonged to

the category of those nations whose population is below 10 million.

The per capita income of Pakistan at dollar 350 in 1981, according to the World Bank Atlas, was 25 per cent higher than the average for low-income countries. This is no small achievement for a country born under the shadows of dire predictions regarding the non-viability of its economy and unremitting compulsion to carry a disproportionately large burden of defence expenditure.

The overall growth performance is equally clearly reflected in other sectoral indicators of the economy. The industrial sector was conspicuous by its virtual absence in 1947. Largely based on cotton ginning and wheat and rice-milling, apart from an odd sugar and textile mill in one or the other province. The value added by the large-scale manufacturing sector contributed hardly 2 per cent of the GDP in 1949-50.

In 1982-83, the share of large-scale manufacturing, which covers almost the entire spectrum of industries from textiles to the manufacture of basic steel, fertilizers, machinery, electronics and chemicals, is estimated at 12.7 per cent of the GDP.

Agriculture has re-emerged as a surplus export sector, giving rise to exportable surpluses in all major and some minor crops ahead of the export possibilities.

In the field of energy, the average per capita consumption of electricity was 4 kw per annum in 1947-48. It has gone up to 223 kw per capita in 1982-83, despite the attempts to suppress the demand to the level of actual availability through load-shedding and brown-outs. According to the census of 1980, 71 per cent of the urban houses have already been provided with electricity. Similarly one-third of the 45,000 villages had received electricity by the end of the Fifth Plan.

The rate of progress in more recent years has been even higher than the average for the entire period. During the six years from 1977-78 to 1982-83, the average growth rate has been 6.2 percent per annum. This has allowed a

per capita income, growth of over 3 per cent per annum from 1978 to 1983. The cumulative growth in per capita incomes by 24 per cent during these six years was more than twice the growth in the preceding six years. Agricultural growth rate at 4.2 per cent per annum for this recent period represents a record for the country and can compare favourably with that of any rapidly developing economy in the world.

In fact the cumulative growth in agriculture during the past six years has made a qualitative difference to the national agricul-

tural scene. Subsistence agriculture is being transformed into commercially-conscious, market-oriented agriculture.

Deficits have been replaced by surpluses which can, and by and large do, absorb the impact of climatic variations on output.

The growth in the manufacturing sector (large and small) at around 9 per cent per annum has cumulatively added 68 per cent to the size of the industrial sector in the economy and has been acting as the main element of structural change. The share of industrial sector (which includes, in addi-

tion to manufacturing activity, mining, gas, electricity and construction sub-sectors) in relation to the GDP went up to 26 per cent in 1982-83.

This compares with 17 per cent as the average for low-income developing countries other than China and India. The share of the industrial sector in the upper-middle-income countries is 35 per cent.

Pakistan's export performance during this period has been a specially bright feature. Exports have increased at a trend rate of 10 per cent per annum in volume

terms and of 15 per cent in dollar value over the past six years. In cumulative terms, the increase has been 132 per cent. Diversification of exports has reduced both the commodity and country concentration of exports.

The share of manufactured exports in the total exports has increased to 57 per cent and the share of non-traditional exports (other than 10 major item) to 41 per cent. The rate of growth in non-traditional exports has been 20 per cent per annum for the last six years.

Workers' remittances from abroad increased even faster than physical exports, recording an average growth of 31 per cent per annum for six years. By 1982-83, the foreign exchange earnings from workers' remittances virtually ranked equal with exports.

Reflecting the impact of the second 'oil shock' imports virtually doubled between 1976-77 and 1980-81. Thereafter, imports have remained unchanged at around 5.5 billion dollars on account of the impact of strong import-substitution measures in wheat, sugar, fertilizer, cement, steel, and agricultural machinery, and equally strong demand management.

On a trend basis, imports have increased by only 4.5 per cent per annum in volume terms over the last six years, well below the rate of growth of exports and the GDP.

The current account balance-of-payments deficit at 435 dollars million in 1982-83 has brought down dependence on foreign assistance to a net level of 1.2 per cent of GNP. Even with the set-

back in cotton, the balance-of-payments deficit is expected to be around 2 per cent of the GNP in 1983-84.

Let me hasten to add, however, that what has been achieved so far was the easier part of the task before the nation. The more difficult and complex problems will confront us (as in fact they have started doing already) as we enter the next stage of development. We have utilized a considerable part of the potential for growth which exists on the surface and can easily be harnessed with strong, imaginative management policies and discipline.

At higher levels of production, further growth is not as easy to come by. Further progress towards a more mature economy would depend upon how we face the new problems of adulthood.

This annual general meeting of the society is in a sense being held at a very propitious time in Pakistan's economic history. It is not only that we have just moved from the successful completion of the Fifth Plan to implementation of a more demanding Sixth Plan. We are indeed in the process of entering a phase of development which calls for indepth studies of some fundamental issue with a view to bringing about some basic structural changes in the economic.

The problems and issues to which I refer can be identified in each sector. I have no intention, however, of placing before you a comprehensive list of such issues covering the entire economy. I will simply illustrate their nature by a few examples.

Let us take first the quality of growth in the productive sectors. Despite this year's setback, agricultural growth has been highly encouraging. But it is still based precariously on the incentives and support provided by the Government in the form of assured support prices for the output which, in some cases at least, had to be fixed above the level of competing international prices for comparable quality. At the same time, the prices of a number of key inputs still carry substantial subsidy. This system was essential during the period of

in order to obtain higher yields per acre and thereby reduce the cost per unit of agricultural output. In short, we would need a highly competitive and efficient agriculture with flexibility of response to the changing market patterns. This makes it absolutely essential to develop sound supporting institutions for agriculture which would also serve to cushion the impact of adverse weather. The nature of support provided to the farmer would also have to be different in this phase. Instead of just providing a protective input-output price relationship, we have to build this competitive strength through more purposive research, reinforced by an effective extension network, and an adequate availability of essential inputs at the right prices. These changes are not easy, but would have to be man-

import substitution as initial inefficiencies in the use of modern inputs had to be tolerated. The system also worked well so long as the major problem was to increase production in order to eliminate domestic deficits. As we start accumulating surpluses and seek export outlets, the question must be answered whether it is desirable to continue expanding production at this cost to the consumer and the tax-payer. Even if we do so, how will the resulting surpluses be disposed of? The importers abroad cannot be expected to pay more than the prevailing world prices and would demand higher-quality standards than have traditionally prevailed in the country.

We need to study ways of improving the efficiency of use and productivity of various inputs

aged in order to maintain the growth momentum in agriculture for domestic consumption and exports.

Similarly, in the industrial field, the expansion of industry, though highly gratifying, has required until recently a high level of protection. The textile industry, which heralded the industrialization process in the country, developed on the basis of a total ban on imports. In a completely sheltered market, not much attention was paid, generally speaking, to the quality of output or use of cost-effective techniques. Although the latter-day industries did not develop exactly in the same hothouse atmosphere, they too enjoy a degree of protection which is quite high. The need of the country to restrict imports to conserve foreign exchange resources and the fiscal imperative to use tariff as a major source of revenue have provided an overall level of protection which is, in many cases, in excess of what would have been justified as the minimum necessary for the development and efficient working of the domestic industry. In the circumstances, it is not surprising to come across industries whose contribution to the national welfare cannot be fully established at this stage. In fact, some studies show that, in a number of cases, the value added is negative on international prices. In other words, the national resources consumed by such industries are large than the true value of their output.

One can only hope that over a period these industries would expand to full economic size and gain efficiency standards which will make their contribution to the economy positive a gradual process of exposing such industries to a degree of brand high-technology industries.

The essence of an industrial society is technology. An industrial

sector organised without adequate arrangements for research, continuous transfer and assimilation of latest technology and innovative adoption emerging from the system itself will never be able to transform itself into a dynamic self-perpetuating force for progress. We have no doubt a sizeable industrial apparatus in the country, producing a very large and diversified volume of goods, but most of this is based on processes and technology bodily transplanted from abroad, with little contribution of our own. The task ahead lies in strengthening the technological foundations of our industrial sector and increasingly basing the new industrial projects on a firm domestic command over the modern forces of technological change.

At a different level, the issue which continues to affect the entire development field is the persistent low-level of saving and investment in the economy. Perhaps, as is believed by some experts, the data on saving and investment tend to understate their real magnitudes because of the inadequacy of the techniques of measurement employed both in the formal agricultural sector and in the small-scale industrial enterprises. Irrespective of the degree of underestimation, however, the fact remains that the saving and investment rates in the economy are dealt between desirable level. Domestic capital formation (i.e. physical investment other than the accumulation of stocks) was estimated at 16.2 per cent in 1982-83 and the gross domestic investment (including accumulation of stocks) at 18.8 per cent. This compares with the average of 21 per cent for low-income countries and a level of 25 per cent for India and China. Pakistan would, in fact, require a higher investment rate to support its relatively high growth rate in the GDP and to generate adequate employment for its labour force expanding at around 3 per cent per annum.

Unemployment pressures were averted for a number of years as a result of the migration of labour. Almost 10 per cent of Pakistan's labour force is working outside the country. With the possible return-flow of workers from some of the countries or at last with the stoppage of net migration abroad, employment problems are likely to acquire a serious significance for the domestic management of the economy.

Increasing the saving rate to support higher levels of both private and public-sector investments would call for substantial structural reform in the area of public finance and fiscal and monetary policy. An inelastic tax system, based largely on taxing the external-trade sector, has required all the effort towards additional tax measures undertaken year after year to avoid a fall in the tax-GNP ratio even below the current level of 13 per cent. Income tax is collected from a narrow base of roughly one million tax payers in the country.

Corporate taxation is circumscribed by a host of exemptions and concessions for investment. Excise duties are levied only upon a small list of items. No consumption point tax has so far been attempted. Thus the tax system does not grow automatically with the growth in domestic production, income and expenditure. The government is forced to push up the rates and coverage at every state to ensure that the ratio of taxes to the GNP is at least maintained. A more broad-based system of taxation would be an essential prerequisite for mobilising adequate public savings.

Inflation is a perennial issue in developing countries. We face the problem of inflation in Pakistan as a result of not only our own signs of omission and commission but also of imported inflation ridden world economy.

We need anti-inflationary policies which would not only avoid generating domestic inflationary pressures, but would also help minimise the impact of inflationary pressures imported from abroad. 'What policy package would accomplish this' is the question to which you must find an answer.

Unfortunately, not enough literature has been produced in recent years analysing inflation, its causes and its remedies as also the effect of inflation on real wages and incomes. In a sense, the rate of change in inflation is less important than the analysis of its cumulative effect on income distribution and the relative positions of various groups in the society. Such distributional issues transcend narrow economic analysis as they affect the balance of forces which determine the societal advance towards national goals.

During the eighties, we would need to give much more attention to these aspects for maintaining growth with stability.

In the field of balance of payments, despite recent improvements, the fact remains that Pakistan's exports are roughly around one-half of her foreign-exchange earnings. For the balance, reliance has been built on workers' remittances from abroad, which is a highly uncertain source. We have before us examples of countries which had to make extremely difficult adjustments when recession in the host countries forced a return-flow of their labour. Export policy must aim at sufficiently high growth rates to cater for the eventuality of a substantial fall in the workers' remittances.

Export expansion has been remarkable in the recent past, as I mentioned earlier. However, it required considerable artificial support by way of export rebates, relief in taxation and cheap credit. Such support is possible in the initial stages when the export sector is relatively small. As it grows,

it must learn to find its way without artificial crutches. Creating a genuinely dynamic export sector, which must in turn be based on an efficient production in agriculture and industry, to which I referred earlier, would thus be the real long-term challenge for the economy of Pakistan.

This is a formidable agenda for the eighties for economists and policy-makers. Your research would have to provide the intellectual setting for devising the policy response to these and many others issues of such fundamental nature. I respect the freedom of choice in research. The researchers have a right to select their subjects on the basis of their own perception of what they can contribute best. However, it is equally important for research—particularly, research in social sciences—to be relevant to the real issues facing a society.

You can contribute a great deal by emphasizing the factor of relevance in the choice of research. Further economic progress of the nation will crucially depend on the results of your efforts and the quality of answers developed to the basic issues arising in economic management.

Finally, economic management in vacuum cannot be examined in a vacuum. They have to be studied in the context of a particular society, its values, laws, and institutions that govern economic relations amongst the individuals and economic entities. In turn, all economic development must serve to build a humane and just society. It should serve to consolidate the values which a society holds dear and should create national harmony and solidarity on the basis of shared values. The evolution of a societal pattern and its values are as much a concern of the economists as of experts from any other field.

In Pakistan, we have definitely and irrevocably committed ourselves to the creation of a truly Islamic society, based on the fundamental principles of 'Adl and Ihsan'. It is our intellectual and religious obligation to translate

these divine precepts into the crucible of real-life institutions.

Islam is a complete way of life and the Islamic economic system can only be appreciated as an integral part of this perfect system, governing all aspects of the lives of individuals as well as the overall societal relationships. Like the view through a prism, selected parts of the Islamic system may at times reflect colours which could be identified with those of some of the existing systems. However, this confusion of misplaced identity can easily be avoided by keeping the view focussed on the 'totality' and comprehensive view of Islam which gives its economic system also its unique character.

We must clearly understand that the Islamic economic system, based on-Adl and Ihsan is neither 'Islamic Capitalism', nor 'Islamic socialism'. I can think of no way by which you can Islamise capitalism and still call it capitalism of some sort. Even if the institution of interest, the sheet-anchor of the capitalist system, is replaced by the Islamic concept of profit-(loss-) sharing it will not cleanse it of its numerous other exploitative attributes to deserve being called Islamic.

I am not implying that interest (as Riba) has any place whatsoever in an Islamic economic system. Indeed, we have been making every possible effort to abolish interest in Pakistan. All that I am emphasising is the inadequacy of an approach to Islamisation which features only the replacement of interest by profits in the modern banking system, for the simple reason that the modern concept of profits also bears an indelible capitalist mark. It follows that so long as profits are also not Islamically legitimate, we may end up, replacing capitalism by capitalism.

For a complete transformation, such features of the capitalist system as set it part from others—e.g. choice of investment, pattern of production and consumption, spending

behaviour of consumers, maximisation of profits, the distribution of income and wealth and unbridled operation of the market mechanism— will have to be made to conform to the value system of Islam which places an obligation on the society to create an environment in which each individual can develop and realise his full potential. This of course, will call for a fundamental reformation of the society and will, therefore, take time.

### ISLAMIC SOCIALISM

Islamic socialism is equally meaningless, both as a concept and as a blueprint for social reforms. Unlike socialism, Islamic economic system does not seek to abolish private property, nor does Islamic thinking regard state control of the means of production per se as an unmitigated good. In an economic dispensation based on 'Adl' a proper balance is sought between the ownership of the means of production, the discharge of social obligations corresponding to this ownership, and regulations corresponding to this ownership, and regulations of the forces of production for the collective good of the society.

In this framework, the concept of absolute ownership, whether that of the state or of the individual, gets replaced by one of "trusteeship," for only Allah is the absolute owner of every thing in the universe. The primary importance in an Islamic system thus attaches not so much to who owns what but rather to what he does with what he owns and whether he does it according to the ethical norms of Islam and in an Islamically legitimate manner. Private initiative constantly sharpened, encouraged and promoted.

The system, however, places a responsibility on the Islamic state also to continue to guide and direct, if necessary, the private initiative towards a socially constructive role. There is a large area of reform where it will not

appear feasible to leave decisions exclusively to the market which simply reflects the question of economic power at any given time. The task of modifying this equation for maintaining and promoting a just society based on Adl and Ihsan can be performed only by an Islamic state organized according to the correct spirit of Islam.

Over the past several years, we have been patiently working, step by step, on building the structure of an Islamic economy. Specific measures have progressively been diverted to ensure, while preserving the continuity of economic life, a definite pace of change in the desired direction. Through the introduction of Zakat and Ushr we have been able to structure an effective social security net for the deserving poor and the deprived. Direct financial assistance is now being provided to the bottom 10 per cent of all families in the country. Increasingly, an attempt is being made to use Zakat funds for the permanent rehabilitation of the Mustahiqeen, and for the institutionalisation of assistance to the deserving sections of the society. Personal charity is being replaced by a dignified and constructive support and rehabilitation of those below the poverty line as a national responsibility.

Considerable progress has also been made towards establishing an alternative financial system free from the evil of Riba. Apart from the profit-and loss-sharing counters in all the branches of Pakistani banks, new financial instruments based on Islamic principles have been successfully introduced to ensure that increasing proportions of bank transactions are conducted on a non-interest basis. Some of the major financial institutions have been fully converted into entities which work on profit and loss-sharing basis. A new financial structure has thus been evolved and has started operating on a large scale. For the present, the old and the new co-exist, but a comprehensive programme is now being developed in consultation

with the State Bank and commercial banks to eliminate, fairly soon, interest from all domestic banking transactions.

I have often said this before and it would bear repetition here that an Islamic dispensation based on Adl and Ihsan implies a total restructuring of the entire spectrum of social and economic relations. What we have achieved so far in introducing the Islamic economic system is just a beginning. It has prepared the ground but our goal is still a long way off. The elimination of Riba from banking operation and the introduction of Zakat and Ushr will by themselves not suffice to convert the existing dispensation into a Islamic economic system. The changes would have to be much more basic and would have to penetrate the entire conceptual and institutional framework of the society.

The rhetorical declamation of enforcing Islam in a day may serve the purpose of rallying public support. There is, however, no substitute for solid, unremitting work to translate the Islamic ideas into practical measures in the form of functioning institutions. Our intellectuals, especially the economists, have a duty to advance this work.

It has been disappointing that, barring a few honourable exceptions, the economic profession of Pakistan has not involved and identified itself whole-heartedly with the task of evolving and refining of the tools through which the Islamic economic system can be implemented.

I urge upon your society and, through the society, upon the entire economic provision to devote their energies especially to this fundamental task, the importance of which over-rides every other priority.

With these words, I have a great pleasure in inaugurating the first annual general meeting of the society. I wish you all success in your deliberations and would be looking forward to receiving the results of your discussions.-APP.

## PRODUCTION OF COMMERCIAL STEEL TO START

Karachi BUSINESS RECORDER in English 19 Mar 84 p 10

[Text] Lahore, March 18--The Pakistan Steel, Karachi, will start commercial production of hot-rolled sheets from next month and cold-rolled and galvanised sheets by December this year.

The annual production of hot-rolled sheets is estimated between four and five lakh tons, cold-rolled sheets 90,000 tons and galvanised sheets 1000 thousand tons, Pakistan Steel Chairman Haq Nawaz Akhtar said here today.

He said the annual sales revenues of Pakistan Steel will stand at Rs 7000 million when it attains full production capacity including the payments for raw materials and debt services, the net revenues will equal Rs 2000 million, he added.

Answering a question, Haq Nawaz said the Pakistan Steel had no exportable surplus at the moment although some countries had expressed their keenness to import pig iron.

Pakistan has exported 3.5 lakh tons of pig iron to India, two lakh tons to China and about 80,000 tons to Bangladesh, he said.

Entire production of the Pakistan Steel was being consumed locally and had helped the steel prices go down. The import of products being manufactured by the Pakistan Steel had already stopped and that of remaining will also discontinue soon.

He said that Pakistan Steel would reach the break-even stage when it attained 80 percent capacity by the end of 1985. He hoped that Pakistan Steel might be utilising Naukundi iron ore period of two to three years.--PPI

CSO: 4600/460

## EXPORT OF COTTON, RICE TO STAY IN PUBLIC SECTOR

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 20 Mar 84 p 1

[Text]

KARACHI, March 19: President General Mohammad Ziaul Haq said today he did not believe in nationalisation of private industry and trade and called for mutual goodwill and understanding between the Government and the private sector to serve the nation.

He was inaugurating the ninth Annual General Assembly of the Export Promotion Council held here this morning after a lapse of nearly ten years.

The President observed that the Government's task was to govern the country and serve the people. It was for the businessmen and industrialists to take part in trade and industrial activity.

He said the public sector was not competing with the private sector and its activities were motivated by service to the nation. It is concentrating on extension of infrastructure facilities and provision of educational, health and other services. He said there was no conflict between the interests of the private and public sector and therefore no basis for any confrontation between the two sectors.

The president, however, felt that the Government could not accede to the suggestion of the private sector that it should get a share of the rice and cotton export business. He recalled that the private exporters resorted to malpractices like putting bricks in cotton bales destined for foreign markets. Secondly, he said like the agricultural and mineral resources, cotton and rice, constituted national wealth and should therefore be handled by the State.

President Ziaul Haq also pointed out that the internal trade in the two commodities was handled by the private sector whereas the export trade was with the State-managed corporations.

He said there was vast potential for development, progress and prosperity of the country endowed with rich natural resources. Agriculture was the backbone of the country. It was rich in mineral and other resources. Both the private and public sector could work for progress and prosperity, one with the spirit of service and the other with motivation of profits.

The President repeatedly stressed upon the business community that they should be honest in their dealing at all costs. He also called upon them to produce quality goods that could earn a good name for Pakistan and its people.

On the other hand he said the Government would extend all possible financial assistance to exporters and also accept their valuable suggestions for boosting exports. He said rebates, low rate of interests and other export financing schemes would not only be continued but further incentives would also be given.

The President hoped the useful suggestions made by the Chairman of the Export Promotion Bureau, Mr. Hamid Habib, and FPCCI chief, Saifullah Khan Paracha, for boosting exports would be considered by the ninth Export Promotion Council and examined by Finance Minister Ghulam Ishaq Khan, Planning Minister Mahbubul Haq and Industries Minister Illahi Bux Soomro.

The President expected that new ideas and proposals would emerge from the deliberations of the Council that would help formulate dynamic policies to maintain the tempo of exports.

He also made about half a dozen points which he felt needed to be observed by the exporters. He listed them as follows: quality, dynamism, aggressive salesmanship, honesty and exploration of new

markets.

Earlier, the President urged the industrialists to produce goods not only for domestic consumption but also to meet the needs of neighbouring countries; especially the Islamic States.

He said they should also step up the exports of manufactured goods or value-added products in preference to raw materials. He noted that apart from three main exportable items, cotton, rice and leather, Pakistan would soon be in the international market for sale of sugar and wheat.

He said he had advised the Pakistani diplomats serving in various countries to become No. 1 salesmen for Pakistani goods. He said Pakistan was a developing State which wanted to trade with different countries and had no political ambitions. Hence its diplomats should give priority to commercial and trade ties rather than to other diplomatic activities.

The President observed that Pakistan had special relationship with the Muslim world but that did not mean that our exporters could send any "rubbish" to these States. They should send quality goods with right specifications if they want to trade with them.

He said Pakistan's trade with the Soviet Union was also growing and has developed further with every visit of the Finance Minister Ghulam Ishaq Khan.

The President reiterated his resolve to abolish interest from October 1985.

CSO: 4600/474

NATIONAL FARM RESEARCH PLAN PREPARED

Lahore THE PAKISTAN TIMES in English 20 Mar 84 p 6

[Article by Khawaja M. Iftikhar]

[Text] Islamabad, March 19--The Planning Commission has prepared the national agricultural research plan to streamline lopsided research programmes resulting in colossal waste of money over the past several years.

The proposed plan will provide a new sense of direction to agriculture science research bodies which are currently functioning at different levels without proper coordination or monitoring.

Implementation of haphazardly prepared research plans had been a drain on the public exchequer and had hampered the normal course of research needed for augmenting agricultural production.

Details of the proposed agricultural research plan will be announced shortly. However, it has been gathered that in all probability the research work will now be undertaken by the agricultural universities, besides other research bodies including the apex level Pakistan Agricultural Research Council.

At present the research work being carried out at the university level is superficial because adequate funds and facilities are not being made available to the researchers working with these teaching institutions. Under the proposed plan the research projects will be monitored at various levels and co-ordinated efforts will be made to achieve material results.

Due to lack of technology and inputs particularly high yielding and disease resistant seeds, the per acre yield of all the major cash crops in Pakistan is lagging behind other developing and developed countries. Dairy development had also been neglected in the past forcing the country to import huge quantities of powder milk.

Recent surveys have shown that the per capita availability of milk is on the decline, although the availability of meat appears to have improved.

The Minister for Planning and Development, Dr Mahbubul Haq, told The Pakistan Times today that the draft of the national agriculture research plan will shortly be given final shape.

CSO: 4600/460

# SOME INDUSTRIES SEEN FLOURISHING

Lahore THE PAKISTAN TIMES in English 22 Mar 84 p 5

[Text] Production of selected manufacturing industries has achieved new heights during the last seven years of the present government. According to Federal Bureau of Statistics an over-all increase in the production of cotton yarn, cotton cloth, sugar, vegetable ghee, cigarettes, nitrogenous and phosphatic fertiliser, cement, cycle tyres and tubes, bicycle, electric fans all types, paper (writing, printing, packing and other), mild steel products, sea salt, beverages, jute goods, chlorine gas, paints and varnishes, polishes and creams, footwear, safety matches, sewing machines and paper and chip boards has been noticed since 1977-78.

According to these sources, there has been a marked increase in the industrial investment in the country during the last seven years. However, while investment in the public sector has considerably come down, there has been a considerable increase in the investment in the private sector.

While the production of cotton yarn has increased from 297.9 million kilograms to 458.3 million kilograms annually, likewise the production of other manufactured items shows a manifold increase and the figures quoted against the year 1982-83 are most encouraging. In many cases the production has been doubled and in some cases the increase is three-fold.

In respect of industrial investment, while in 1977-78 the total investment stood at Rs 263.6 million, in 1982-83 it increased to Rs 9,794 million. However, during this period the investment in public sector came down from Rs 6,143,5 million to Rs 4,579,3 million.

However, the position of the private sector is most heartening. In 1977-78 the total investment in private sector was Rs 2,120,1 million but gradually it rose to Rs 5,214,7 million during 1982-83. The investment in large and medium size industries is much bigger than the small industries. Last year Pakistan had Rs 3,877,3 million in large and medium and Rs 1,337,4 million in small industries.

CSO: 4600/460

ZIA'S INTERFERENCE IN ELECTORIAL SYSTEM SCORED

Karachi JANG in Urdu 19 Mar 84 p 3

[Article by Irshad Ahmad Haqqani: "Election or Selection?"]

[Text] It was very pleasant to know that President Zia has begun his activity about the elections, and we shall soon have some sort of elected government here. But his remarks about opening the doors of the assemblies only to special people and closing them on others has given rise to many misgivings in the country. People fear that what they are going to get is selection and not election. In this Peshawer speech, the president talked vehemently about the sovereignty of God and Godly men. He said that some people will not be allowed to take part in elections. It is feared that the government will make certain rules about the voters and the candidates in order to keep their political opponents out of politics. The public does not mind rules and regulations, but they are worried about the way in which the rules will be implemented. Suppose the condition for a person's eligibility is regularity in prayer and fasting (political circles, especially the Muslim League president, ridicule it). If this condition is imposed by fiat, whether on the part of the election commission or simply the civil bureaucracy (D.C. AND S. P. [deputy commissioner or superintendent of police]), the situation becomes very grave. It is feared that the new conditions will be imposed arbitrarily, and that is when the election will become selection. This will be a direct and indirect way to interfere with the elections. This impression has grown so strong that now people think that Islamic democracy means just interference in the elections. If we say that only good people should be voters and candidates, nobody will disagree. But when the right to decide about a person's eligibility is given to the bailiff or the deputy commissioner, instead of the electorate, it will be suspected that the purpose of the rule is not to elect good people but to keep out those who are undesirable in the eyes of the administration. People have lost all faith in the honesty and integrity of the administration and there is a reason for it. It is believed that in the 1977 elections, the bureaucrats went even further than the orders of the rulers allowed. They were unconscientious and connived with political candidates for their own selfish purposes.

If such an administration is given special privileges to disqualify voters and political candidates, it is feared that it will repeat its past behavior. If those at the helm say that this is mere prejudice against the administration

and that they sincerely want to keep politics free from evil characters, nobody will believe them. Again, what about the nominations that are being discussed, what about the talk of bringing to the assemblies people who do not want to "play the game of politics?" Some people are being dubbed ineligible already. Some ineligible people are appealing their ineligibility. In the case of party elections, unregistered parties will be declared ineligible.

All this goes to show that there will be elections, but the administration will see to it that the results are exactly what it wants them to be. The purpose of the election should be to make the people of the four provinces feel that they no longer need have a sense of deprivation, since the new government consists of their own elected representatives. But if the rulers engage in an activity that does not let the people elect candidates of their own choice, the sense of deprivation will increase, and it will endanger the integrity of the country. If the people feel that they have not been given the right to elect their own representatives, this entire election exercise will be futile. On the other hand, it may bring negative results, and the sense of deprivation may take another form. Under these circumstances, it is the duty of the administration to manage things in such a way that the people feel that the new government has been created by themselves. There is no weight in the argument that our nominations are like the nominations to the House of Lords in England, since the institution in which the nominations are being made is a counterpart of the House of Commons. Even if you want to make nominations in the upper house, it is not permissible under the present circumstances, as the upper house has to be stronger in order to provide a sense of security to the smaller provinces. Hence, no nominations should be allowed in either house. Public institutions should only have representatives chosen by the people themselves. If representation of special technical groups is needed, this can be done some other way. Their expert opinion can be asked with regard to special bills. Representatives of their associations can be called on to give evidence before committees of the national assembly, as is done in America. There are many other methods, too. But representation in government institutions by people who have no direct experience of public problems will cause more harm than good, especially when their number and the method of their nomination has not been specified. All this leads the people to think that the government is trying to bring its favorite and dependent people into the administration through the back door. This gives strength to the fear that schemes are being hatched to give the right of election with one hand and take it away with the other. This impression may be exaggerated. The government should try to dispel this fear instead of strengthening it with their statements.

12476

CSO: 4656/117

PAGARA SAYS NO SIGNS OF ELECTIONS YET

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 20 Mar 84 p 6

[Text]

PESHAWAR, March 19: The Pir of Pagara, President of his own group of the defunct PML, has said that there were no signs of any elections being held this year and not even before 1987.

In an informal chat with newsmen at the residence of the Provincial League Chief, Mian Mohammad Iqbal, here today he added that his earlier estimate about the elections was that these would be held somewhere in 1992 but as a result of the party's azans and prayers he was now expecting it in 1987. He suggested that the President should elaborate his latest election plans which he announced at his Peshawar public meeting on March 12. In its present shape one could hardly draw any conclusions, he remarked. Taking exception to the proposed restrictions on voters, he pointed out that Pakistan had come into being on the basis of franchise and had not been conquered.

Replying to a question he said that there was no politics where there was no opposition or party in power, and his party's point of view on the subject had been made clear in the document it had submitted to the Council of Islamic Ideology in reply to its questionnaire on the country's constitutional issues.

The Pir believed that those talking of greater provincial autonomy wanted the pre-One-Unit situation to be restored wherein the rights of all the provinces were equally protected. In that case it would make no difference whether Punjab was the biggest province or the smallest. With each of the pro-

vinces enjoying equal rights, he said they will have no grievances against each other.

Asked about the ban on student unions, the PML leader said that he had been demanding this step for several years but only in respect of the student wings of the PPP and the Jamaate Islami, but the Government had deemed it fit to ban all of them. The IJT reaction to the ban, he said, was quite understandable as the Jamaat believed that it was no more receiving the preferential treatment from the regime.

The Muslim League and the Federal Shooru members, he said, were accusing each other of being non-political but "out doors are open to them and others too who accept our leadership but they will only be accepted as back benchers". At present, he said, there were no such issues on which an alliance could be effected with like-minded parties. He added that any question of alliance or co-operation could only be considered at the appropriate time and then it could cover every party prepared to follow the PML line.

Supporting fully the Government stand on the Afghan situation he said that the credit for the present policy on Afghanistan could be claimed by those sitting in the Foreign Office and not by the Generals.

The Pir was here to condole the death of Mian Iqbal's father.

CSO: 4600/474

FORMER MINISTER WARNS ABOUT ELECTION DELAY

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 23 Mar 84 p 8

[Text]

PESHAWAR, March 22: Former Federal Minister Fida Mohammad Khan, who headed the Federal Shooru committee on constitutional issues, has said that one of the major considerations in recommending the restoration of the 1973 Constitution was that the most controversial issue of the quantum of provincial autonomy had been settled therein.

In an interview with The Muslim here he said that the said Constitution was based on the consensus of the elected representatives of the people and its revival therefore was considered to be the answer to the deadlock. The Shooru committee, he added, had debated the situation threadbare for more than two weeks and its recommendations were unanimous. The members, he said, had fully expressed their feelings on all the issues under discussion and there was actually no need to review or revise the report of the committee. He, however, suggested that whatever the recommendations of the Shooru committee, the situation as it prevailed today called for a categorical commitment on national elections by March 1985. To keep the people in further suspense, he said, would be disastrous as the people had already started talking in terms of greater

provincial autonomy and confederation.

Replying to a question, the Shooru member said that the elections were already late and any further delay would prolong the duration of martial law, that, he remarked, would give rise to negative tendencies and underground activities. Similarly, foreign powers opposed to Pakistan would also try to take advantage of the situation.

The former Minister was of the view that whatever the mode of the elections, the political parties must take part in it as that would eliminate the chances of confrontation and pave the way for the end of martial law and peaceful transfer of power. Lack of participation, he said, had already created hatred among the people and their participation in national affairs would make a difference.

Asked about the proposed qualifications of the candidates and the electorates, he said that it would be a very tough job indeed to determine the conduct and character of the two and nobody was clear as to what exactly would be the yardstick to determine the qualifications. He added that with the President's announcement of March 12, the reports of all the committees on constitutional issues seemed to have been rendered null.

CSO: 4600/475

NDP LEADER SAYS JI CAN JOIN MRD

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 22 Mar 84 p 8

[Text] PESHAWAR, March. 21--Begum Nasim Wali Khan, Central Vice President of the defunct NDP, has said that Jamaat-e-Islami could join the MRD fold on the basis of the latter's four-point programme.

Talking to newsmen at Bilour House here this afternoon, she said that the basic requirement for an understanding and cooperation between different parties was sincerity to pursue the struggle for the restoration of democracy. The NDP. She said, believed that the political parties had no 'personal enmity' against each other and if there were any differences these were due to certain principles involved in the approach to certain issues. So far as the NDP and the JI were concerned, they had been together in the PNA while her party did not mind joining hands even with PPP for the sake of democracy and the country. Party interests, she said, became secondary when it was a question of national interest. The reported contact between the PPP and the JI She added, was a welcome move in the present situation, provided the latter was able to undo the impression of being on the right side of the present Government.

Asked about the MRD struggle, Begum Wali Khan said that it was by all means a successful exercise, and despite all the claims by the controlled media that the movement had failed, the fact was that the people had violated martial law.

The NDP leader said that the 1973 Constitution had been signed by the elected representatives in good faith and the people of the smaller provinces had accepted whatever guarantees had been provided there in. But unfortunately the document had been undone and it was hardly surprising that the people now talked more about provincial issues and even confederation. The 1973 Constitution, she observed, would "have helped us get out of the present turmoil but there was no tradition in our country to learn a lesson from one's own and others' blunders and the emphasis still was on new experiments in the name of Islam and democracy". A restricted franchise as indicated by the President in his Peshawar public meeting, she said, would mean no election of any type and if at all it was pushed through, the results could only add to the confusion and uncertainty. That she remarked, would be the first experience of its type and apparently it would not be useful for the country.

# JAMAAT-E ISLAMI FACES HARD CHOICES ON FUTURE ROLE

Karachi JANG in Urdu 23 Mar 84 pp 3, 22

[Text] In a commentary on the departure abroad of Miss Benazir Bhutto, acting chairman of the banned People's Party, this writer expressed the opinion that this would increase pressure on the government to hold elections and that prospects for the nation to move toward the goal of elections would become brighter. It was also submitted that the government would reduce its dependence on right-wing parties and instead attempt to seek broad political support. A few days later, the writer referred to a sure change in thinking of JI [Jamaat-E Islami]. Writing about restrictions on student organizations, reference was made to the reaction of JI. It was suggested that the party is desirous of seeking cooperation with other parties. Statements by JI leaders reflect an implacable change in the thinking of the party. Some observers were taken aback by the breadth and depth of the change. A party that only a few months ago considered even the mention of a movement as being to destructive and anti-Pakistani, was now talking of starting a movement in a language even more tough than that used by other parties. JI is disappointed with government's attitude and it regards this as an act of betrayal. Its reaction was bound to take a bitter form. JI's disenchantment is not confined to restrictions on student bodies alone. Government, too, has been looking for allies in other sectors and places. This is another indication that the special relationship between the JI and the government has ceased to exist. No wonder JI leaders are weighing possibilities of cooperation with other parties. Professor Ghafoor has clearly said that considerable progress has already been made in this direction. However, there are indications that the party is facing serious difficulties in evaluating the contemporary political scene and devising suitable plans. JI is definitely disappointed with the government's attitude and it is prepared to cooperate with the opposition camp. During the 6 years when it was close to power, however, it had many opportunities to strengthen itself, and now it is not finding it easy to deprive itself of those advantages. Moreover, JI adopted such an extremist attitude in regard to the MRD agitation that it is not easy for it to suddenly reconcile itself to MRD's leadership.

This is the reason for the predicament in which the party finds itself. Some people feel that JI has taken an irrevocable decision to side with the opponents of policies and programs of the government, and the only question

now is of procedures and the form this cooperation will take. Others believe that the recent utterances of the party's chairman and general secretary are merely meant to put pressure on the government to change its attitude toward the party and thus refrain from forcing JI to join the opposition camp. In this context, reference is made to some aspects of the party's behavior. For instance, on behalf of JI, MRD is described as a spent force and one that has lost its usefulness. Similarly, as a condition for its cooperation, JI wants them to accept its stand on the issue of Afghanistan. Maulana Amrui remarked that the Sindhi fair, which had been organized with the help and support of JI, was inaugurated by President Ziaul Haq. Maulana Amrui sees this as proof of JI's duplicity. From this it can be concluded that JI is still in the throes of a dilemma. It is disappointed with its close and special relationship with the government, and it wants to demonstrate its reaction to the situation, but in some corner of its mind it also fondly desires a restoration of the former relationship with the government. This is why it does not want to join the opposition camp openly. According to some people, the party is facing an impasse. It has in fact fallen between two stools. Its power and authority have disappeared and the opposition is not prepared to lay down a red carpet for it. Some indication of the party's predicament can be gathered from Mian Tafeel Mohammad's interview with JANG. Expressing obvious helplessness, he said he did not know which door to knock on. "The citadel of MRD is guarded by Maulana Amrui and the living room of right-wing parties is protected by Maulana Noorani." Mian Tafeel did not use the exact word "living room" but the context was such that his meaning was clear; because of Maulana Noorani, it was not easy for JI to gain admission into the alliance of religious parties. It will not be surprising if the JI is getting hints from above that it need not be unduly disappointed and that a soft spot still remains for the party in the heart of the government.

Meanwhile, it is clear that JI is in a tough spot. Maulana Amrui has said: "By aligning itself with the authorities during the MRD campaign, JI proved to be a traitor to democratic forces and played the role of the government's stool pigeon. Only if JI categorically disavows its former role will it be possible to consider alliance with it." These remarks must be galling to JI. But as we already said a few days ago, a tough attitude on the part of MRD will not be a wise move. If JI really and without any mental reservations wants to join other political forces in the struggle for democracy, then it should be welcomed to the fold. In fact, we are prepared to go so far as to say that if JI demands that the name of MRD be changed, even on this issue an inflexible stand should not be adopted. One middle course would be to replace the word movement with the word alliance, and the name of MRD could be changed to ARD. This is a very trivial issue and merely on this account any party's desire for cooperation should not be frustrated. In our opinion, the real question concerns the commitment of JI. If JI expresses a true desire for cooperation, then as suggested by Professor Gahfoor past bitter-nesses should be buried and a path of cooperation should be adopted for the complete restoration of democracy. We believe this to be in the broadest interests of the country and the nation.

12286

CSO: 4656/121

ISLAMIC SYSTEM WILL RULE OUT PARTIES, WESTERN DEMOCRACY

Karachi AMN in Urdu 27 Jan 84 p 2

[Excerpt] Many religious scholars and some politicians believe that there is no place for the party system in an Islamic order. And if a party is created, then its purpose should be to serve the religion. Parties cannot be allowed to be formed merely for the purpose of politicking or gaining power. If this is the case, then there is no possibility of ending the ban on the political parties. Government could make laws ending parties for ever. And people might lose the right to raise their voice against such an action. If it is decided that there will be no political parties in an Islamic order, then it will not make sense to keep political prisoners, because they will not be able to exert any influence after their release anyhow.

Once an Islamic order is established for good, many issues such as Federalism, the autonomy of the provinces and its extent, the role of the armed forces, and so forth, will have to be considered anew. If we are serious about setting up an Islamic government, then we will have to resolve all our political and economic issues through Islamic principles. And we will have to forget once and for all that in 1973 we framed a constitution through consensus.

Islamic principles are in contradiction with the Western ideals of democracy. If the two are mixed, there is a danger that problems will arise. Consequently, once the Islamic principles are adopted we will have to give up Western democracy for ever. Islam emphasizes concentration of power in the central government no matter how many provinces there are. Hence rule of one individual with the help of an advisory council. If we choose to have democracy and a party comes to power in the center while some other parties capture a power in some of the provinces, then complications may arise. Therefore, it will be advisable to have only one system that will be in the interest of the nation.

9859

CSO: 4656/87

## BROAD POLITICAL ALLIANCE, MRD TRANSFORMATION SEEN POSSIBLE

Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 10 Mar 84 p 9

[Article by Ilyas Shakir: "MRD Likely to Appear in New Form; Political Drift Reported in a New Direction"]

[Excerpt] Once again there are signs of upheaval in domestic politics and of ideological lobbying for a new alliance. Some Karachi politicians, even though bedridden, still seem to be impatient to help cure the disease of the nation. Under the pretense of visiting the sick, efforts are said to be under way toward a broader alliance. Maulana Shah Ahmed Noorani, leader of the defunct Jamiatul Ulema-e Pakistan, has told the people coming to inquire about his health in clear and unambiguous terms that the time has come to form an alliance to save the country from the continuously increasing pressure of an autocratic regime. It may be noted here that he had previously stated that he was not prepared to form any alliance with any party that had previously represented the martial law regime. Maulana Noorani, going still further and mentioning the defunct Jamaat-e Islami by name, said that before talking about any alliance it should ask for the nation's forgiveness for its part in helping to maintain martial law in power for 7 years. In contrast to this, Prof Ghafoor Ahmed, deputy chief of Jamaat-e Islami, told members of the delegation of the defunct Tahrik-e Istiqlal who visited him to inquire about his health that personally he was not in favor of close relations with the martial law government but that as a member of a respected political party he respected the decisions taken by the party. Mushir Ahmed Pesh Imam, secretary general of the defunct Tahrik-e Istiqlal, and Khursheed Mahmood Qasuri prayed that his views in the defunct Jamaat-e Islami might be further strengthened, to which Prof Ghafoor Ahmed reacted with a smile. Speaking earlier, Prof Ghafoor Ahmed also urged the leaders of the defunct Tahrik-e Istiqlal to take steps to make the alliance more effective and broad. Similar wishes were also expressed by Mir Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo, leader of the defunct PNP [Pakistan National Party], during the course of a meeting with various delegations; he said that all parties in the country, without exception, should unite to restore democracy and, instead of fighting among themselves and continuously increasing the confusion, should strive for a single agenda so that general elections could be held under the 1973 constitution. Mr Bizenjo said that mutual conflicts should be put aside for better times and added that when democracy is restored there will be more fun in fighting. When asked about Jamaat-e

Islami's statement that it will not form any political alliance with the defunct PPP [Pakistan People's Party] until it asks for forgiveness for the repression it committed when in power, Mir Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo said that during the former regime we really suffered great hardships and losses but we are not talking about those sufferings because they were minor. The major problem, he said, was the restoration of democracy, and he added that some say that the former tenure of the PPP government was a period of dictatorship. Mr Bizenjo said that in his reply he urged people to note how daringly he had fought for his rights.

This is the latest trend in the thinking of the national leaders. The major reason for the drastic change in the thinking of the national leaders is the uniformity of prevailing conditions and stagnation in the democratic process. With the passage of time, frustration has increased and the credibility not only of the politicians but also of the rulers is fast disappearing. Political analysts believe that the effects of provincial elections can be seen only when a schedule for provincial elections is announced. This formula will not and cannot be effective before then. Let us return to the basic problem of a broader internal alliance, which is the main goal of the ideological lobbying. If this process gains momentum, then MRD [Movement for the Restoration of Democracy] will reappear in a new form and under a new name. Even now some elements are full of hope and expectation. But they, too, seem to be looking for a new formula. A leader of a defunct political party has expressed concurrence with a suggestion that the main reason for the change in the thinking of the defunct Jamaat-e Islami is the restriction imposed on student organizations. According to him, Islami Jamiat-e Tulaba [IJT] was the force of the defunct Jamaat-e Islami. It was its strength and its hands. If restrictions on student organizations had a direct effect on any party, it certainly is the Jamaat-e Islami, because the IJT was not merely a student organization, it was a nationwide force. Imposing restrictions on student organizations can have the effect of "slow poison" on certain political parties. Sources close to Pir Pagara have revealed that he warned the leaders of the defunct Jamaat-e Islami during the course of a meeting in Mansoor about 3 months ago that as the government had done away with every political party in accordance with its power, the last party to be dealt with was Jamaat-e Islami. According to these sources, decisions taken by the government will again prove that another one of Pir Pagara's predictions was correct.

9315

CSO: 4656/108

## MUSLIM LEAGUE, TAHRIK-E ISTIQLAL EFFORTS TO REORGANIZE DESCRIBED

Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 10 Mar 84 pp 9, 12

[Lahore Diary by Syed Anwar Qidwai]

[Excerpt] On the one hand, the Muslim League is busy reorganizing and stepping up its activities and on the other, Pir Pagara is insisting that political parties should be given time to reorganize before the elections and that the Muslim League will require at least a year for this purpose. Pir Pagara, speaking to correspondents in Lahore the other day, reaffirmed his stand that if the government wishes to hold elections on party basis then it should allow the political parties some time to reorganize. Under protest, his party is prepared to participate in nonparty elections and will contest any kind of election. This time he said something he never said before. He said that if the government does not accept the Muslim League's proposal and announces its decision to hold elections on party basis, then his party will consult with lawyers and obtain an injunction. Pir Pagara holds a clear viewpoint on the country's political affairs. During the campaign started by MRD [Movement for the Restoration of Democracy], he was the only important politician in Sind who openly opposed the campaign and revealed its designs. Even now he is not prepared to recognize MRD. He has said in clear and unambiguous terms that MRD's real aim is not the restoration of democracy. But despite this, it is not known why he is allergic to taking part in general elections and what his apprehensions are in this matter. When asked about this, his reply every time has been that it is necessary that parties be given time to reorganize. He says that political activities have been banned for the last 6 years, that political parties have had no contact with the people in general and that preparations have to be made for general elections. First of all, elections will be held on the party level, then the party's electoral charter will have to be prepared, federal and provincial boards will be set up and these boards will receive the applications of the candidates. He said that all these things need time and that the Muslim League will participate in the elections on a national level at any cost. This is not an ordinary thing. He said that he has been talking about organizing the party for the last 2 years; if the government had given the necessary permission, they would have been completely ready by this time, and it is not their fault if they are not. When he was told that his demands could delay the elections, he replied that he has already noted that with their blessings and the Muslim League's prayers, the

date set for general elections has been advanced from 1992 to 1987. Pir Pagara suggested that a political government should be set up in the country, a government that could lift the ban on political activities in the country and could be entrusted with the task of holding national elections so that power could be transferred to elected representatives. Pir Pagara's main objective in these statements is to pave the way for him to say that his party had already predicted the ideas underlying the statements made by the government, thus coming out ahead either way.

But such a thing is not possible in politics.

The elected members of the Central Action Committee of the defunct Tahrik-e Istiqlal elected the new chairman of the party, and the founding chairman of the party, Air Marshal (retd) Asghar Khan, was once again elected unopposed as the chairman of the party. It is said that no one opposed him and the electoral college once again chose him to be the leader of the party with full responsibilities. Air Marshal Asghar Khan naturally could not refuse the unanimous decision of the prominent leaders of the party. Besides, the principles of democracy also demand that party's decision be accepted.

The present leadership of Tahrik-e Istiqlal claims that it is the only party in the country that has regularly held elections and has complete faith and trust in the values and traditions of democracy. In the second phase of its elections, the new chairman will nominate members of the action committee. It is being said that the incumbent secretary general, Mushir Pesh Imam, is no longer a contender for this position. Thus, Mian Khursheed Mahmoud Qasuri, Mr Asif Wardag and Sayed Munir Shah may announce their candidacy for this post. When they do, Tahrik sources say that the main contest will be between Mian Khursheed Qasuri and Asif Wardag. Mian Khursheed is very active in party affairs. He has indeed played a great role in keeping the party alive among the people. He has been giving statements on every occasion and has been responsible for manifesting the policy of the party. Party sources say that Mushir Pesh Imam will be appointed vice chairman of the party and young men will be appointed to some other posts, thereby bringing the young leadership to the fore.

Tahrik-e Istiqlal is a major party from the standpoint that its leader has been struggling with governments for democracy and the rights of the people for quite some time. Air Marshal Asghar Khan faced all kinds of miseries during the period of the former government and he suffered imprisonment, detention and unlawful treatment. Even now he has been under detention for the past 4 years.

It is an honor for a politician to remain steadfast in his views.

9315

CSO: 4656/108

## ZIA'S RIGHT TO AMEND CONSTITUTION DISPUTED

Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 16 Mar 84 p 5

[Editorial: "People Have Not Given You the Mandate"]

[Text] General Zia, at a press conference in Peshawar, said that the constitution, in its present form, has many ideological contradictions that must be removed, and some additions must be made to make it accord with Islamic democracy. These changes, he said, would be made by himself before the elections. He said his government is military but is lawful and has every right to make changes in the constitution.

Our purpose here is not to challenge the rights the president claims to possess, but we cannot help presenting a few facts to him. First of all, we will say quite clearly that the people of Pakistan have not given him the right to do what he intends to do. Such rights are possessed only by a representative government. Only a representative assembly of the people has the right to make amendments and additions to the constitution.

Moreover, any government, military or otherwise, that comes into power in a crisis has to manage the affairs of the country during the interim period, make rules within the limits of the constitution and as soon as things become normal hold elections and hand over power to the representatives of the people.

President Zia's government has no more rights than that. His promise to give up power to the people after 90 days was quite proper. But his government did not remain within its limits. It neglected its duty to hold elections and hand over power to the people and volunteered to sit in judgment against the previous regime and impose an Islamic system on the country. How far they succeeded in this extra work is debatable.

If Zia's government could not do its job in 90 days it should have completed it in a year or two. It had no right to remain in power for 7 years. It is strange and deplorable that even after 7 years the government is not limiting itself to holding elections but is trying to impose on the country a form of government it calls Islamic democracy, as if this responsibility had been given to it by some divine revelation. We say to the president, with due respect, that inventing a new political system, giving it the label of Islam and making amendments to the constitution for its sake are not part of his

responsibility. He is going beyond his limits. His duty is only to hold elections under the constitution. He can only introduce a few rules to make the elections impartial.

After the elections, he should hand power over to the people's representatives and leave the scene. But when, instead of doing his duty, he dissolves the political parties and starts to impose on the country a new political system he calls Islamic, he is clearly going beyond his rights. This will harm the nation and the president will be responsible for it. He had better not tamper with the 1973 constitution, which was made by all political parties unanimously. Political parties did not accept the amendments made to the constitution in the days of Bhutto. The work of bringing this constitution back to its original form and improving it can only be done by the representatives of the people and the political parties. If he makes any changes in it, it will no longer remain a unanimously accepted constitution. We think that the president, instead of involving himself in superfluous work, should simply hold the elections under the 1973 constitution and hand over power to the representatives of the people and the political parties. This is the only straight path. If the president leaves it he will lead the country into unpredictable dangers.

Our advice to the politicians is to get together and unite for one purpose: that the elections must be held under the 1973 constitution on the basis of political parties and that the government will be formed by the parties that get the popular vote. This is something on which every political party can agree. At this moment, when the government is determined to impose on the country its own pet political system, political parties should stop it by making a strong alliance against it. If they pursue their differences and allow the new system to be imposed on the country, then they will have to accept it in silence and sign their own death warrants.

12476

CSO: 4656/120

ISLAMIC DEMOCRACY JUST 'ONE MORE EXPERIMENT' IN GOVERNMENT

Karachi AMN in Urdu 18 Mar 84 p 2

[Article by Juma Khan: "Since Experiments Have Continued for the Last 36 Years, One More Experiment Will Not Matter"]

[Excerpt] Muslims generally believe that the Advisory Council is nominated by a leader or ruler appointed by the people. The question of the Council's powers has been discussed several times in past sessions. The members of the Council maintained that it is their responsibility to advise on matters raised by the government and to bring important matters to the government's attention. Certain federal ministers, however, are of the view that the Advisory Council can only offer advice and that the government can accept or reject it as it sees fit.

Anyway, the Federal Council is in existence and the number of its members may be increased. According to General Zia's announcement, the Council will continue to function until such time as it can be replaced by an elected body. General Zia has also mentioned the nomination of members to elected national and provincial assemblies and has said that experts and religious scholars would be nominated to these bodies. Such nominations would be neither a new nor a bad idea, because in Britain members are nominated to one of the two houses of Parliament. General Zia is correct in saying that several members of the British Parliament are nominated; and the body to which they are nominated is called the House of Lords. Not only in Britain but in several other countries that one could name some members of parliament are nominated. If it is intended to follow the British example alone, then the question that arises is, does Britain have an Islamic democracy? Britain has a ruling queen as well as an elected prime minister; it has a party system and free radio, television and press. If we wish to learn something from Britain, should it only be the system of nominations? Britain has free education, and free medical care and the unemployed receive unemployment compensation until they can find a job. If these are good things, then we should follow Britain's example in these things as well. Islam does not forbid us to emulate the good customs of other nations nor does it say that Muslims cannot acquire knowledge from non-Muslims. As to the question, What will happen in the future? as muslims we are of the view that the future will be as God wishes it to be or as we want it to be. For 16 years we have watched the politicians in power; for more than 20 years

we saw the rule of the generals; we experimented with the parliamentary system with basic democracy; with a bicameral federal system and with the one-unit system and we have continued to experiment with martial law. First, we broke the 1956 constitution; then the 1962 constitution and now we have suspended the 1973 constitution. We have tried one experiment after another and have spent the last 36 years in experimentation. It is no secret as to what the country and the nation gained and lost because of these experiments. If it is fated that we should continue these experiments, then the experiments will continue. If an Islamic republic is to be tried next, what difference will it make? It will be one more experiment. The people should not worry. Things are bound to take a turn for the better one day. God is with those who are patient and the fruit of the tree of patience is sweet.

9863

CSO: 4656/115

NEWSPAPERS, BUREAUCRATS AID THOSE ESPOUSING CONFEDERATION

Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 18 Mar 84 p 3

[Article: "Slogans of Confederation in Newspaper"]

[Excerpt] Defense Minister Mir Ali Ahmad Talpur has complained that newspapers are giving too much publicity to the people who talk about confederation in Sind. He says that the publishers go on printing the pictures and interviews of these people, which is an unworthy method of increasing the circulation of their newspaper. The people of Sind, he says, want a united Pakistan, not a confederation.

Mr Talpur has given good advice to the newspapers. They should not give any importance to people who, in an election, will not win a single seat from Sind. With their extremist views, they pretend to be the greatest advocates of Sind's welfare. Nevertheless, we ask Mr Talpur to ask his government to take strong measures against the bureaucrats who think it a part of their duties to encourage those who are against Pakistan's ideology. They have given platforms to those who talk about castes and regions. These bureaucrats, in order to revoke the 1973 constitution, patronize those who talk about confederation. They have encouraged some newspapers to give such people a prominent place in their columns. It appears that just as the Ayub regime started the mischief of "six points" in East Pakistan in order to curb the democratic campaign, so now the slogans of confederation are being encouraged in order to curb the movement for democracy and reinstatement of the 1973 constitution. The separatists are being encouraged to propagate their views. We think that even if the bureaucrats need to encourage the slogans of confederation through the media, there is no reason why the newspapers should join them in this pernicious activity. If the newspapers value the integrity of their nation, they should change their attitude at once.

12476

CSO: 4656/120

# BIZENJO STRONGLY CRITICAL OF GOVERNMENT'S POLICIES

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 20 Mar 84 p 6

[Text] QUETTA, March 19--Mir Ghaus Bux Bizenjo, President, defunct Pakistan National Party, has strongly criticised the internal and external policies of the present Government and warned that due to "persistent martial law and curbs on democracy, Pakistan has become a tool in the rivalries of the two super powers." He was talking to journalists on his return from Nal, 30 miles away from Khuzdar, to Quetta tonight.

Talking about the internal situation in the country he said thousands of people were still in jails, national economy was totally destroyed and "despite billions of dollars remittances from Pakistani immigrants living abroad, we are living on foreign loans and aid. The country's law and order situation, he said, was deteriorating day by day, democratic and civil rights were curbed and virtually 80 million masses of this country had become "slaves".

Commenting on the external situation he said due to "slacknesses" in our foreign policy" we have become dependent on international imperialism. We have involved ourselves in the Afghan crisis for nothing and are enduring the burden of millions of Afghan refugees." He said Pakistan has become a base from which Afghan insurgents are carrying on insurgencies in Afghanistan. He asked: How long will Russia or Afghanistan endure this situation?

He said same was the case with regard to India, with which Pakistan had strained relations. He warned that such pro-imperialist policies would harm the country irreparably. Further, Pakistan was being forced by the imperialist forces to become involved in Gulf politics would could prove disastrous to its integrity.

The defunct PNP leader said that the only way out was in the revival of democratic rule in the country "as a strong democratic govt. alone could bring a healthy and pleasant change in the present situation". Pakistan, he added, needed a truly non-aligned forieng policy. He suggested that Pakistan must hold direct talks with the Karmel regime so that Afghan refugees may go back to their country.

Replying to a question he said he was in favour of a broad based alliance among the political parties. "Even Jamaat-i-Islami could be asked to join in such an alliance." He said all the political parties were in favour of the revival of democracy. So broad-based cooperation among the political parties was the need of the hour.

When asked about non-party polls, Mr. Bizenjo said democracy without political parties was baseless and added, the people of Pakistan would never accept such elections.

CSO: 4600/474

TI LEADER SUPPORTS DIRECT TALKS WITH KARMAL REGIME

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 20 Mar 84 p 8

[Text] QUETTA, March 19--Mr. Musheer Pesh Imam, Secretary General of defunct Tehreek-i-Istiqlal, has said the foreign powers, including the United States, have their own vested interests in Baluchistan and Pakistan's involvement in super powers rivalry could do irreparable harm to the country's integrity. He emphasised that to get rid of the present impasse, revival of democracy was the foremost demand of all the political parties.

Talking to newsmen, here tonight Mr. Imam said: "If Gen. Ziaul Haq wishes to continue in power, he should turn himself into a civilian and lift the ban on political activities" and added that Gen. Zia should also allow the political parties to hold public meetings. But he expressed his doubts about future elections.

However, he added, "if meaningful elections were held the same would be acceptable to us and the MRD as a whole, provided, the transfer of power is done according to the wishes of the people."

Talking about the internal situation in the country he said: "Martial law is meant to maintain law and order in the country but I see that the situation is just the reverse of it. People in Sind cannot come out of their homes after sunset." He also added that the voice of dissent could not be curbed with force, "rather it spreads hatred and unrest in the country, which can endanger the country's federation."

Referring to the four-year old Afghan crisis he said foreign forces should leave Afghanistan and in the meantime the present Govt. should hold direct talks with the Karmel regime. He said the holding of direct talks with Kabul was not harmful.

To a question about election he said it should be held on the basis of the Constitution adopted on 14th August 1973, and added that "the only amendment, with which Qadianis were declared non-Muslims, should be retained."

To another question about the proposed broad based alliance among political parties, he said the MRD itself was an effective alliance and those parties who agreed on the four points of MRD could be welcomed.

He said that the situation in the Gulf region was deteriorating day by day and it seemed Pakistan was being unwittingly involved in the situation. He said it would be in the interest of the country that power be transferred to the elected representatives, so that the country could get rid of the present impasse. He also expressed concern over the war between Iran and Iraq and said it would destabilise peace in the region and world as a whole.

To a question he said the defunct Tehreek-i-Istiqlal and MRD's component parties could hold talks with the Govt. provided they were held within the framework of MRD's four points.

CSO: 4600/474

# COUNTRY SAID 'ON BRINK OF TOTAL EDUCATIONAL CHAOS'

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 20 Mar 84 p 8

[Text] ISLAMABAD, March 19--"Pakistan is on the brink of total educational chaos", Dr. Mohammad Afzal, the Federal Education Minister, told the Annual General meeting of the Pakistan Society of Development Economists here today.

Winding up a debate on the 'Economics of Education', Dr. Afzal disagreed with those who suggested that there was a need to reduce subsidy on education. he said, 'We should not only see how much is being spent on education; we should also consider what is being spent on other sectors and then make a comparison'.

Explaining his point with the help of slides and diagrams, the Minister said that the money spent on education is much less than the minimum allocation suggested by the U.N. He said the U.N. has asked its members countries to spend at least 20 per cent of their budget on education while Pakistan spends only 6 per cent.

The Minister said that there was more than 70 per cent illiteracy among males while about 90 per cent women in the country could not read or write.

He said, 'Even whatever little we spend on education, at least half is being wasted.' About 50 per cent of the candidates appearing for the matriculation examination fail and about half of the successful candidates are placed in 3rd division. In Intermediate, the net wastage was even higher and at least 70 per cent candidates could not get through their examination. Even in universities and colleges the situation was no better. The minister emphasised the need to improve the system so that the money and effort wasted could be saved.

Dr. Afzal said that out of a population of 88 million, only 7.7 per cent went to primary schools, about 2 per cent to middle schools, and 0.8 per cent to secondary schools. Only 0.004 per cent reached the graduate level and 0.002 per cent made it to the Masters grade. The Ph.ds, he said, could be counted on one's fingers.

In such a situation, the Education Minister said, there was not much to celebrate.

Earlier, Dr. Ali Khan and Dr. Shahrukh Khan presented papers which were vigorously criticised by the participants, leading at times to exchange of hot words among some of them. On occasions the Minister had to intervene to prevent further unpleasantness.

# FORMER MINISTER OFFERS PLAN TO RESTORE DEMOCRACY

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 22 Mar 84 p 8

[Text] KARACHI, March 21--Mr. Pyarali Allana, member central executive and former PPP Minister has said that the Pakistan People's Party is opposed to the confederal structure in Pakistan. It stands for the revival of the 1973 Constitution in toto.

He said that after 26 years of its existence and after having lost one half of the country, a constitution was finally framed by the elected representatives of the remaining four provinces--Punjab, Sind, NWFP. and Baluchistan. It has the seal of approval of all the four provinces of the country. It is federal, democratic and Islamic. The PPP stands for its revival. The MRD also stands for its revival. Even the remaining important parties outside the MRD--Jamate-Islami and the JUP--stand for its revival. This shows, although much political water has flowed down the Indus in the recent past, that there is universal acceptability in the country so far as the 1973 Constitution is concerned.

He warned that any tampering with it by anyone may bring disastrous consequences.

Mr. Allana said the MRD movement has brought about tremendous awakening in the people of Pakistan. It is wrong to say that the response in the Punjab was poor. He said the MRD movement is a state of mind. The people are now aware of their rights and their strength. The seed had been sown by the movement in every Pakistani mind for restoration of the 1973 Constitution, for provincial autonomy within the framework of the Constitution, for democracy, equality and for human rights. Thus alone, we can preserve our national unity.

Mr. Allana urged that general elections be held immediately on party basis. National and provincial elections should be held on the same day and there should be no change in the mode of holding elections. It should be held under the 1973 Constitution on party basis and in accordance with the election rules prevailing before July 5, 1977.

Mr. Allana said that seven years of martial law is a very long period There is all-round frustration among the people. This is a very unfortunate development.

To break the impasse between the Government and the political parties, he suggested the following: (1) revoke the provisional constitutional order 1981 (PCO) (2) the Judges of the Supreme Court and the High Courts take fresh oath under the 1973 Constitution (3) reference under appropriate clause of the Constitution of 1973, to the Supreme Court to suggest constitutional legal and administrative measures and a time frame for holding general elections in the country (4) political parties be allowed to put their points of view before the Supreme Court and (5) the Supreme Court be requested to give its considered opinion within two months.

He said, 'if the Government agree to this I am sure all the political parties would also agree.'

CSO: 4600/475

JATOI APPEALS FOR UNITED STAND ON 1973

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 23 Mar 84 p 8

[Text]

KARACHI, March 22: Mr. Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, the detained PPP leader, has appealed to all political parties to unite to protect the 1973 Constitution "which is the only positive uniting factor of the federation."

In his Pakistan Day message from the Karachi Jail released to the Press here today, he said that "in this hour of national crisis when the very existence of the country is at stake, all the political parties should unite to jointly protect the Constitution of 1973, which remains the only positive uniting factor of the federation, and unitedly strive to preserve, protect and ensure the rights of the federating units."

He said, Quaid-e-Azam dreamt of a Pakistan where there would be freedom of thought, expression and belief, freedom from want, hunger and worry, freedom from poverty, ignorance, illiteracy and above all freedom from exploitation coercion and cruelty "

He warned that if we failed to realise these objectives and to save Pakistan then we shall stand condemned before the supreme being and posterity.

He said Pakistan was created through the force of the ballot. "Let us not destroy it through the force of bullet." No section of the society can afford to remain complacent as too much is at stake, the PPP leader said.

He warned that the spark of deprivation, "political economic, social may ignite soon and engulf and burn to cinders, one and all, guilty and innocent alike, without any discrimination, and there will be, nothing left for the rulers and the ruled."

CSO: 4600/475

COMMONWEALTH MEMBERSHIP VIEWED AS ILLOGICAL, VALUELESS

Karachi AMN in Urdu 20 Jan 84 p 2

[Column "From Jumma Khan's Pen"]

[Excerpt] Some circles propose that Pakistan should again be included in the [British] Commonwealth. In this connection, the only reason they give is that this would facilitate Pakistani emigrants living in Britain.

The name of the largest group of countries is the United Nations. Following this, a good many countries have formed an organization called the nonaligned movement. Likewise, the Muslim countries formed the Islamic Conference, the Arab countries created the Arab League and the African countries formed the Organization of African Unity. In the organization known as the British Commonwealth, the only countries participating are those that have gained their independence from Britain. That is to say, the meaning of being included in this organization is: "We remain vestiges of the slavery of the British Crown."

In Karachi and several other cities, several statues of the foreign era were erected in public places. We removed all of these years ago. We changed the name of Friar Hall; McLeod Road became Chundrigar Road; Drigh Road took the name Shahrah-e Faisal; the city of Montgomery took the name Sahiwal and the city of Lyallpur took the name Faisalabad; but even now we have names like Jamesabad and Jacobabad from the time of the British. If we want to erase the vestiges of slavery, then it makes no sense for us to shackle ourselves with the chains of the British Commonwealth. The British Commonwealth does not have any wealth and the only sense of unity it has is that all of the members were once slaves of the British Crown. If you think there is some advantage to branding yourself with the scar of slavery, then why should Pakistanis or Muslims take the trouble to destroy English statues or change the English names of streets and cities? Have these names caused any damage?

Pakistan is included in the United Nations and is also a member of the non-aligned movement and the Islamic Conference. Isn't this enough? The British not only inflicted tyranny on the people of India as well as of all their other colonies, they made it a practice to kill. They ended the Muslim rule of India. And who can be silent about the catastrophe inflicted on us in the revolt of 1857? They didn't happily hand us Pakistan on a silver platter.

We made invaluable sacrifices for this nation. When they quit India, the British left the nation in such a condition that the seeds of enmity were sown between India and Pakistan. They also created trouble with the formula for partition; Pakistan should have been created in such a way that its creation proceeded along established principles. The only goal of this political scheme was that India and Pakistan should always fight each other, that they should squander their resources and that they should not become good neighbors.

In addition to quitting the British Commonwealth, we have gotten out of two military treaties, SEATO and CENTO. We also chose to disassociate ourselves from an economic treaty, the RCD. These treaties could not fulfill our expectations. We thought that our military and economic friends would come to our aid when needed, but experience has proven that whatever was written in these treaties was of no value. [With those treaties] either we were deceiving ourselves or others were deceiving us.

12565

CSO: 4656/79

UPDATE OF OCEANOGRAPHIC SURVEY PLANNED

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 22 Mar 84 p 8

[Article by Sikander Hayat]

[Text] ISLAMABAD, March 21--A 10-year programme to update Pakistan's century-old coastal waters navigational charts and to explore biological and chemical wealth in the country's exclusive Economic Zone has been launched. The major instrument being used in this effort would be S/V Behr Paima, a highly sophisticated hydrographic and oceanographic survey vessel purchased from Japan.

The vessel equipped with latest versions of geological and seismic observation equipment is expected to help provide the basic data to the national organisations employed for the exploitation of off-shore oil and mineral resources.

In its first phase the ship is now charting the body of sea opposite Karachi and 100 kilometers west of it. Uptil now the ships coursing this area were using the navigational charts prepared in 1872.

The information gathered by S/V Behr Paima has already indicated that those charts were grossly inadequate for mapping the features at the bottom of the sea here. Some new areas of fishing interests have also been located.

S/V Behr Paima was procured from Japan against a credit of three billion yens (Rs. 140 million) with interest rate of 2.75 per cent repayable in 30 years, including 10 years grace period. The delivery of the ship figures high in the Japanese policy to transfer technology to Pakistan as part of its massive trade relations with this country.

The 61-meter long and 12-meter broad vessel with gross tonnage of 1183 tons carries a complement of 16 officers, including scientists and 68 members of crew. Among the ship's major facilities is included the JMR-21 system which helps determine the position independently and also in relation to satellites and coastal positions. Additionally, it has the Auto-Carta system for data-processing, two equally fitted survey boats, echo-sounders, four laboratories and six winches to lower observation instruments and cameras into the sea.

Now fully manned by Pakistani officers and crew, the vessel offers a new frontier to our marine scientists and oceanographers for the exploitation of

the vast resources in about 750-kilometer of Pakistani coastline and the EEZ extending 1000 miles into the Arabian Sea.

The members of the Karachi-based Institute of Oceanography who undertook a thousand-mile cruise on S/V Behr Paima recently are said have collected a large number of samples of sea life and are now studying them.

Pakistan is one of the few countries who have acquired advanced technology in this area of interest. Thailand and Brazil are said to be the other developing countries who are about to have such vessels.

The vessel will also help Pakistan in meeting its international obligation to ensure that its waters are accurately charted for the safety of foreign ships calling at Pakistani ports.

CSO: 4600/475

FOUNDATION STONE OF NEW AIR FORCE COMPLEX LAID

Lahore THE PAKISTAN TIMES in English 20 Mar 83 p 10

[Text] Sargodha, March 19--Air Chief Marshal Muhammad Anwar Shamim, Chief of the Air Staff, laid the foundation-stone here today of the Complex that will house the headquarters of PAF's recently-recreated Central Air Command, says an ISPR Press release.

Speaking on the occasion, Air Chief Marshal Shamim said the newly-set up regional air commands were destined to play an important role in the aerial defence of the country. As field air commands they would carry out air operations under the direction of senior commanders who would also be in a better position to coordinate with the other defence forces. That would lead to greater air-land and air-naval co-operation as well as integration of the defence effort.

The decentralised commands, he said, had also made possible the planning and conduct of joint exercises in peace time, resulting in greater understanding among the fighting elements of the defence forces and increase in their combat efficiency and effectiveness.

Air Chief Marshal Shamim said the permanent headquarters of the Southern and Northern air commands had already been established. He expressed the confidence that the construction of the C.A.C. headquarters would be expedited and it would soon start functioning from its permanent location.

CSO: 4600/460

## BRIEFS

DEMAND OF SHIA ULEMA--LAHORE, march 22--The Wafaq-e-Shia Ulema at a largely attended meeting of their delegates from all over the country here at Jamia Al Muntezar has called upon the government to safeguard the rights of all Muslims in the country and implement immediately the agreement of July, 1980. Maulana Arif Hussain Naqvi, who has succeeded the late Maulana Mufti Jafar Hussain, urged the participants to unite like one body and beware of the evil designs of the enemies who, he said, were trying to create differences among them. Stressing the need for a strong Wifaq he said that it would enable them to overcome any hurdle which might come in their way. The first session which lasted for three hours was attended by distinguished personalities from different parts of the country including Allama Razi Jaffery from Sind, Agha Murtaza Pooya from Islamabad, Maulana Ahmed Hussain Noori from Rawalpindi, Maulana Hafiz Sabtain from Wazirabad, and Maulana Ghulam Hussain from Sahiwal. [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 23 Mar 84 p 6]

MAZARI SEEKS PERMISSION--KARACHI March 22--Sardar Sherbaz Mazari has asked the Governor of Sind to allow him to visit the different jails of the province to meet the political detainees there. In a letter addressed to the Governor, Lt. Gen. Abbasi, he has said " Since my release from detention one hears of disturbing news that the condition of political prisoners in various jails in Sind is deplorable. [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 23 Mar 84 p 6]

JI SAID HOLDING TALKS WITH PPP--BAHAWALPUR, March, 19--Secretary General of the defunct Jamaat Islami Qazi Hussain Ahmed has confirmed that Jamaat leaders have held informal meetings with PPP leaders on the unity issue. Talking to newsmen here on Saturday night, Qazi said these informal meetings would continue. He said any political party inside or outside, the MRD could be approached for unity, provided that party accepted the Jamaat's three-point formula based on Islamic code of life, jehade Afghanistan and democracy. He said the Jamaat had made its three conditions public, and now it was up to the other political parties to contact them. He argued that Jamaat had followed a consistent policy of confrontation with the government from the beginning. He criticised President Zia for his proposed conditions on voters. He said if elections were not held by March, 1985, the Jamaat would launch a movement. He said the disturbance of the President's public meeting in Peshawar could be a reaction to atrocities committed on students. [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 20 Mar 84 p 6]

JUI LEADER DENOUNCES GOVERNMENT--MULTAN, March 19--The MRD will welcome the defunct Jamaat-e-Islami in its fold, if it comes forward to work for the restoration of the 1973 constitution, democratic institutions and lifting of curbs on political parties and student unions. This was stated by Maulana Fazal-ur-Rehman while addressing his party men at Muzaffargarh. He said that MRD parties will not take part in any elections which are not held under the 1973 constitution. The JUI leader maintained that the government did not believe in holding negotiations to reach amicable settlements on political issues. He strongly denounced the government's policy of victimising different sections of society including politicians, students, teachers and workers, and added that the regime had been rash enough to demolish all superior institutions of the state, including the judiciary, the press and political parties. Referring to the departure of Miss Benazir Bhutto, Maulana Fazalur Rehman said that he hoped that she would return soon. However, he added, her temporary absence from the country would not affect the MRD. The Maulana was critical of the President addressing public meetings and thus flouting his own restrictions. The only way out of the present impasse is to restore the 73 constitution, hold elections and transfer power to the elected representatives of the people before it is too late, he said. [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 20 Mar 84 p 6]

LAW, ORDER SITUATION CRITICIZED--HYDERABAD, March 19--The former President of Azad Kashmir, Sardar Abdul Qayum has said that it appeared from the law and order situation in Sind that dacoits, robbers, thieves and criminals had a sort of licence to do whatever they liked. Talking to Newsmen here after an extensive tour of Sind for about a week he said that though there was martial law in the country it seemed that the law-enforcing agencies were helpless and unable to crush the anti-social elements in the province. He said: "after sunset villagers don't move outside and keep themselves confined to their houses. To travel on National Highway or Indus Highway after 5 p.m. has become unsafe". Sardar Sahib said that he considered that if martial law was lifted and government was sincere in restoring complete democracy in the country, he saw no reason why any political leader would refuse to enter into a dialogue with the government. About his meeting with Jiay Sind leader, G.M. Sayed, he said that it was a short meeting but very interesting. He said that during his tour of Sind no one discussed with him the confederation point. Talking about the sense of deprivation, he said that it even in Azad Kashmir. [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 20 Mar 84 p 6]

SAUDI ARMY CHIEF ARRIVES--Rawalpindi, March 22--General Mohammad Saleh al-Hammad, Chief of the General Staff, Royal Saudi Armed Forces, arrived here by a special plane on a two-day official visit to Pakistan. On his arrival at the airport, the Royal Saudi Armed Forces Chief of General Staff was received by General Rahimuddin Khan, Chairman Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee Lt-Gen Syed Refaat, Director General Joint Staff, representatives of three services and other senior officers. H.E. Taufiq Khalid Alamdar, Ambassador of the Saudi Arabia and other officers of the Saudi Embassy were also present on the occasion. General Mohammad Saleh al-Hammad is visiting Pakistan at the invitation of the Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee. Tomorrow, the distinguished guest will witness the Joint Services Pakistan Day Parade and also attend the investiture ceremony at the Aiwan-i-Sadr Islamabad.--APP [Text] [Karachi MORNING NEWS in English 23 Mar 84 p 8]

PLO ENVOY DENIES TRAINING TAMIL GROUPS

Colombo THE ISLAND in English 22 Mar 84 pp 1, 3

[Text] Dr. K. Abdul Rahman, Ambassador of the Palestine Liberation Organisation in Colombo writes:

What was published by the "Indian Today" and quoted by "The Island" on a P.L.O. training of some Tamil groups represents another wicked attempt to fabricate an illusion that became discarded.

The Zionist and pro-Zionist propaganda had tried a lot to harm the P.L.O. and to poison the Palestinian relations with several countries through such false publications, while the fact is that the P.L.O. has always respected the sovereignty of Sri Lanka and all other countries and concentrates its struggle on the liberation of the usurped and occupied Palestinian terrorist and the restoration of the national and human Palestinian rights.

The P.L.O. which has always expressed its gratitude for the firm support of the Sri Lankan Government, all Sri Lankan political parties as well as the whole Sri Lankan people is clever enough and honest enough not get engaged in any internal affairs of Sri Lanka, simply because the P.L.O. needs the support of the whole Sri Lankan people not just a part of them.

The nature of the Palestinian struggle and its complications being a struggle against Zionism, the racist imperialist colonialist movement, has caused the need to seek and to welcome the international support which was expressed, in one of its shapes, sometime back through some individuals of other nations who struggled as volunteers against the Zionist aggression. We have the case of some Iranians, for example, who fought within some Palestinian groups at the end of sixties and the beginning of the seventies, some of them became leaders of the present Iranian regime as well as its opposition after they left those Palestinian groups. The fact that those Iranians had once supported the Palestinian struggle doesn't mean that the P.L.O. is involved in the internal situation of Iran.

It is clear that Israel as well as other parties used to cover their connections with sectional and racial disturbances in several parts of the world through their attempts to accuse the P.L.O. which has no interest of what-so-ever in such connections, especially in a case like that of Sri Lanka.

Editor's note: It is interesting to note that that the Ambassador states in his letter:

"The nature of the Palestinian struggle...has caused the need to seek and welcome the international support which was expressed, in one of its shapes, sometime back through some individuals of other nations who struggled as volunteers against Zionist aggression. Can the PLO Ambassador confirm or deny that Sri Lankans too were such "volunteers" in the PLO camps?

CSO: 4600/262

## TERRORIST TRAINING BASES IN TAMIL NADU EXPOSED

Colombo THE ISLAND in English 21, 22 Mar 84

[21 Mar 84 pp 1, 2]

[Two-part article by Shekhar Gupta]

[Text] Three kilometres down the road to Karaikal from the ancient Tamil Nadu town of Kumbakonam, a couple of hundred men occupying the makeshift camp have not time for passing traffic. Dressed in shorts, young men--often holding lathis--are intent on their drills and exercises. The uninitiated could easily mistake it for a typical rss shakha.

But the locals know better. The odd one among them has had a glimpse of rifles being carried in bundles by the camp inmates who seem to be rather fond of leaving in small batches for long journeys. These are no ordinary excursions.

The batches, led by seasoned guerrillas or retired Indian military officers, make for the obscure forests and wastelands along the coast in Ramanathapuram district. There, among the casuarinas, the real training and battle inoculation begins.

The vast, sparsely populated stretch along the coast has now become a veritable guerrilla area. But unlike the tribal bush-fighters in the North-east, their guns are not trained on India. Their target is Sri Lanka. Or more precisely, the northern Tamil majority region. Their objective: an independent, sovereign territory of Tamil Eelam.

In both geographic and strategic terms, they could not have chosen a better training ground. The terrain is the same as on their homeland and there is no need of simulation. In the words of a rebel leader: "The region is obscure, people and government sympathetic and our dreamland of Eelam right across the sea, just two hours by motorboat. Could we have found a better place?"

In fact, from Point Calimere which sticks out into the Indian Ocean like a dagger midway through the Ramanathapuram coast, Jaffna--the Tamil heartland in Sri Lanka--is just a little over an hour away in a good motorboat. And the

rebels have plenty of these as is evident from the regular boat traffic between Jaffna and the Indian coast, running cargoes of guns and men.

The camp near Kumbakonam, like the once close to Meenambakkam on the outskirts of Madras, is just one of the dozens set up by the Sri Lankan Tamil insurgents deep inside Tamil Nadu, where new recruits get ideological grounding by rebel theoreticians and elementary lessons in the use of firearms. Initial lessons over, they are split into small batches and sent for advanced training to the coast. Underground and Indian intelligence sources estimate that nearly 2,000 armed men, belonging to the various groups of Tamil insurgents, are now ready for battle.

Yet another 2,000-3,000 have been trained but wait for arms shipments from "foreign sources," basically the Soviet-backed leftist guerrilla groups like the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) and Simbabwean radicals. Armed with Kalashnikovs and G-3 rifles and driven by a strong emotion of ethnicity with a dash of left revolutionary fervour, they are keyed up to strike.

Inside Madras, the only thing not visible are the guns. But the city abounds with Sri Lankan Tamil insurgents of numerous denominations running training camps in the Tamil Nadu hinterland and plotting to force an armed showdown with the Government in Sri Lanka, scarred by repeated Sinhala-Tamil ethnic violence. The rebels, most of whom escaped by boats from Jaffna in the wake of the July 1983 massacres, are now all over Tamil Nadu. For their leaders, Madras has become a kind of tactical headquarters. They operate out of rooms in the legislator's hostel, allotted in the names of sympathetic MLA's and privately hired houses, while the Government is most accommodating about visa and immigration regulations some of them even go abroad on Indian passports.

The desolate, unguarded coastline along the Ramanathapuram district in Tamil Nadu is their playground. Rebels of various groups run regular motorboat ferries between the Indian coast and Jaffna, using the Palk Straits unmolested. The Sri Lankan Navy has just six seaworthy gunboats which generally confine themselves to Trincomalee. Besides the width of the Palk Straits is just about 35 km--the maritime boundaries overlap--and the Sri Lankans barely have a chance. The Indian Navy and Coast Guard, it seems, couldn't care less.

While the Government turns a Nelson's eye to the goings-on, the Sri Lankan rebels have also, in a way, helped resettle Indian Tamil exservicemen. A large number of them, particularly those who served in combat units, have been hired as instructors at the camps and at higher salaries, in some cases, than they drew from the Indian Army. For insurgents, there could not have been a better sanctuary. The local Tamil politician is sympathetic towards the Sri Lankan Tamils and if ever the Central Government decided to disown them, it would raise a hornet's nest in the ethnically conscious state. With telephone, post office box numbers and even multipage colour calendars proclaiming their cause, the Sri Lankan Tamils must be some of the queerest insurgents in the world. But there is no underestimating their capabilities and indications are that at least the Sri Lanka Government is not making that mistake.

Across the Palk Straits, the Sri Lanka Government is preparing to meet a full-scale, guerrilla conflagration. A strong indication is the posting to Jaffna last fortnight of Brigadier Nalin Seneviratne--a tough soldier--as the coordinating officer, with a brief to flush out the rebels. The Government also proposes to replace Devanesan Nessim, a Tamil, with Sinhala Camillius Fernando for "better coordination". The buildup is reflected in the arrest of five Eelam guerrillas allegedly trained in India in "battlecraft, sabotage and marine commando warfare."

Even more tellingly, news came in of the killings, in quick succession, of at least six guerrillas by the recently formed anti-terrorist squads of the Sri Lanka Army. The feverish Sri Lankan efforts were part of a hurriedly prepared plan to meet the growing threat. The guerrillas have the potential to raise an underground army of about 5,000 in a few months. This could give gory expression to the long-standing secessionist spirit in the island state, heightened by the July 1983 riots in which thousands of Tamils were killed by armed Sinhala mobs, including mutinous soldiers.

That, indeed, was the turning point, when even those Tamils who had been sceptical of the prospects of secessionism began to take the rebellion more seriously. It was in a realistic appreciation of this growing menace that the Sri Lanka Government, after raising the bogey of Indian armed intervention the world over, sought Mrs. Gandhi's assistance for a negotiated solution to the Tamil problem. India responded by assigning to-flight diplomat, G. Parthasarathi, to organise tripartite talk involving Jayewardene's United National Party (SLFP) and the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF). But now, with the withdrawal of the SLFP, the talks are in the doldrums and even the pacifist minority among Tamil leaders are talking increasingly of extreme solutions.

Yet, while bank-heists and hit-and-run attacks are on the increase, the rebels do not seem to want a frontal fight right away. With the intensification of guerrilla training and gun-running, they were in hurry to complete the buildup before the Sri Lankan Government forced a showdown in order to draw them out while they were still ill-prepared and divided, or block conduits linking Jaffna with Tamil Nadu. The rebels were digging in, militarily and politically. Typical of their extreme leftist orientation, they wanted to do adequate political groundwork to create conditions where India could be forced to actively aid their campaign.

For the moment, the rebel strategy is to build up military strength while intensifying its propaganda war against not just the Sri Lanka Government but also the TULF and the round-table conference. "We couldn't care less about the TULF and the Government," said rebel ideologue S. Ruthramoorthy, adding for effect: "The problem is the TULF are election-oriented while we are liberation-oriented."

Nothing symbolises this buildup better than the feverish activity in a small house in a corner of the upper middle class Mahalingapuram locality in Madras. There is no signboard that says so but almost everyone around knows that No. 9, Narayanan Street, houses the Tamil Information Centre and is run by the skinny, wiry figure of S. Sivanayagam, former editor of Saturday Review, the pro-Tamil weekly that the Sri Lanka Government banned in July 1983.

Sivanavagam leads a team of over a dozen men and women, mainly Tamil expatriates manning desks and typewriters churning out publicity material for distribution around the world. He sits in his first floor office, in constant touch with the leaders of various rebel groups. "We are neutral. This centre is the meeting point for everyone," he says pointing at the wall displaying the calendars of all the rebel groups.

But he is certainly not on the side of the pacifists and asserts: "The TULF are just chasing behind events. This is just a bid to sustain a fiction. They have caught the tiger by the tail." This pessimism has even seeped into the ranks of the TULF itself. V. Yogeswaran, former TULF MP morosely admitted, sitting in his Barnaby Avenue house in Madras "The talks were never the same once the SLFP walked out. The whole wretched thing was written on water." With this cynicism almost total, Sri Lanka seems poised on the brink of a prolonged civil strife.

Gearing up for that eventuality are the highly indoctrinated men of over half-a-dozen organisations, with varying strengths in terms of arms and manpower. The more significant ones are:

\*Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) better known as Tamil Tigers. This, the oldest, largest and militarily the most highly organised group, is led by 29-year-old Velupillai Prabhakaran and boasts of widespread foreign links.

\*People's Liberation Organisation of Tamileelam (PLOT) is led by Uma Maheswaran, a former associate of Prabhakaran. Fairly large in terms of manpower, the group has a central core trained by the PLO.

\*Tamil Eelam Liberation Organisation (TELO), which came to prominence in July 1983 when its chief, Thangathurai, and military commander, Kuttumani, were killed in the prison massacre. Now led by Sri Sabaratnam, known better by his nickname, "Tall Sri", TELO is a small but well-knit outfit.

\*Tamil Eelam Army (TEA) is led by Thambipillai Maheswaran, a final-year engineering drop-out, educated in the United Kingdom. The relatively new and small organisation made a sensation last month with a Rs. 50 million bank robbery at Kattankudy near Batticaloa

\*Eelam Research Organisation (EROS) is a London-based body of Trotskyite expatriates who originally provided ideological content and international contacts to the Tamil insurgency under the leadership of E. Ratnasabhapati.

\*Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front (EPRLF) is a body with pretensions more intellectual than military. Its more significant unit is the General Union of Eelam Students (GUES), which brings together Tamil students abroad.

\*Tamil Eelam Liberation Army (TELA) is another small guerrilla organisation which now operates in conjunction with PLOT.

While the leaders of each organisation make various claims, intelligence and underground sources estimate their combined strength at around 5,000--only one-third of which is armed at present. The bulk of the armed personnel belong to the "Tigers" followed by PLOT and then the others and the majority of them are based in India. Most organisations are left-oriented and have contacts with other leftist guerrilla organisations all over the world.

Both LTTE and PLOT have central fighting cores trained by the PLO. Says Balasingham of the Tigers "Our basic alliance is still with the PLO. But we maintain active contact with the other groups like the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) and the African National Congress (ANC)."

The PLO-Tamil nexus is even more marked in the case of PLOT. Its chief, Uma Maheswaran, was in the first batch to go for training to Lebanon in 1978. But after he split from the Tigers, he struck his own liaison with the People's Liberation Front for Palestine (PLFP), led by George Habash which, he claims, has been useful. But while PLOT still lays great store by Palestinian guerrilla training, the Tigers say they are having second thoughts', Said Balasingham: "The PLO-trained boys have not exactly proved to be an asset to our armed strength. Our terrain and conditions are different". The Tigers now claim to have developed their own training infrastructure.

Besides the leftist organisations, which had traditionally been backed by the Soviet Union and Cuba, the Tamil rebels have also had some contact with the Irish Republican Army (IRA), even though they deny it. High level intelligence men, however, have evidence of the liaison and explain that the rebels' anxiety to deny it is because they do not want Scotland Yard on their campaigners' trail in the United Kingdom.

The guerrilla leaders also baulk at questions on direct help by foreign governments, particularly India. As Uma Maheswaran of PLOT evasively said: "Our independence has to be achieved by our own people. We are not dependent on the others. They (India) are allowing us to operate from here, that is good enough."

The foreign factor is not just confined to leftist guerrilla organisations. A significant role is being played in the buildup by the widespread net of Eelam bodies run by expatriate Tamils the world over, particularly in the UK--where there are over 30,000 of them--the US, Australia, West Germany and Canada.

The guerrillas are benefiting from the misplaced policy of the Sri Lankan Government to systematically downgrade the Tamil population by denying them jobs under a blatantly racial Sinhala Only Act. The law drove thousands of Tamils abroad in search of education and work. A bulk of them have taken asylum in West Germany and, though not very rich, form the hard core of the Eelam support overseas. "We expatriates are always aware of the problems back home," said S. Srinivasan, who teaches political science at the Adelaide University in Australia. He adds: "Sometimes I used to think it is easy for us, far away, to be radical. But each time I come back I find people here more determined to achieve what they want."

The expatriates' most visible contribution is to propaganda. The rebel literature is slick and produced in expensive foreign presses. PLOT has even managed to obtain from its expatriate supporters a small transmitter which operates from a boat off the Indian coast, making four-hour broadcasts every Saturday and Sunday in English, Tamil and Sinhala on the 41 meter band and varying the frequency between 7,000 and 7,125 megahertz to hoodwink the Government jamming experts. Often it is possible to monitor the broadcasts in parts of Tamil Nadu. It was this propaganda blitz organised basically by the expatriates that led President Jayewardene to say sometime back that the "Tamils must be the world's strongest minority."

But the expatriate help is not confined to propaganda. A bulk of the money for the rebels' arms shoppers is also raised by Eelam supporters abroad. This, along with the PLO support, has enabled them to weld a spearhead armed with Kalashnikovs--the favourite assault rifle of leftist guerrilla outfits the world over--and NATO issue G-3 rifles, whose origin is shrouded in mystery. In all likelihood, the latter were bought from mercenary arms dealers in Europe. Besides, the guerrillas have generous supplies of Sten machine-carbine, hand-guns and grenades.

But more important than the arithmetic of their current armed strength is the sense of commitment to the Eelam cause. Obviously, these are not merely paper tigers as is evident from their frequent armed strikes, one of which--by the Tigers in July 1983--lit the spark for the ethnic riots. Besides, most of the leaders escaped in jail-breaks following the killings and have shown the inclination to fight on.

The Tigers ideologue, Parmanandan Nesan, "We even carry cyanide pills to commit suicide when there is no escape. None of our people have ever been caught." While that is still a claim that cannot be verified, the guerrilla outfits are full of people like TELO chief Sri Sabaratnam alias Tall Sri, who has a price of Rs. 2 lakh on his head--he managed to escape while serving a life sentence for participation in a guerrilla raid. His brother, Kandaswamy is still held hostage in a Sri Lankan prison. The PLOT publicity in-charge, Shirley Skantha, claims: "Armed training is on now and we are very close to our target of 5,000 armed men. Taking over power is no problem now. But we think in terms of mass mobilisation and crippling the state."

But, for all the claims, the lack of action in the recent past arouses suspicions about their real capability. The rebels explain it away, saying that it is vital for them to buy time. Besides, they argue, they were worried about the possibility of reprisals against the Tamil refugees in camps near Colombo. But a more likely explanation is that they are realistic enough to know that there will be no taking on the Government as long as they do not achieve a measure of unity among themselves. In the past, the groups have bitterly fought each other, even killed each other's men, provoking a senior Tamil Nadu police officer to remark: "The problem is they have nothing in common except for a craving for fancy acronyms for their organisations and their leftist orientation."

But now the rebels themselves are desperate to reach some kind of unity and put an end to internecine blood-letting. Said Balasingham: "Centralised military command is what we are looking for. It is a vital aim and will be achieved." The PLOT chief Uma Maheswaran, who in June 1982 escaped an assassination attempt by the Tigers chief Prabhakaran in Madras, displays even more keenness for unity. He pleads: "We must unite now. We are trying. For almost 18 months we were not even on talking terms. But now we have established contact with some representatives of the Tigers." Unity in fact is one aim on which all rebel leaders agree. Asserted Tall Sri: "We must not bother about ideology now. We must unite. It is sine qua non."

But prospects for unity are obstructed by various predilections, personal as well as ideological. The Tigers are in no mood to forgive Uma Maheswaran for his alleged indiscretions while he was with them or for his breaking away. In the past, they have also indulged in vendetta killings against members of other organisations and even now do not rule it out. Asserted a deadpan Parmanandan Nesan, a Tigers spokesman: "Our task is not merely fighting the Sinhala army. Eliminating robbers and hardcore thieves is also our job."

[22 Mar 84 pp 1, 3]

[Text] Today we conclude the exposure of the Eelam Terrorists camps in Tamil Nadu by India's well known journal 'India Today'. Yesterday's instalment identified the terrorist bases and said that the terrorists were being trained by retired Indian servicemen.

A determined unity effort has been launched by some young TULF leaders, backed by expatriate Tamils and some local leaders, particularly from the DMK. For them, the stumbling block will finally be the Tigers--PLOT enmity, evident in Balasingham's assertion that the Tigers "will have nothing to do with anything that embarrasses the Government of India, like running a clandestine transmitter from Indian soil". The reference is obviously to the PLOT venture.

In sheer military terms, if the rebel organisations achieve some degree of unity, the Sri Lanka Army will find them a tough proposition. Defence experts say that if the Sri Lankan rebels are able to muster 6,000-7,000 armed men against the Sri Lanka Army's strength of a meagre 11,000 only super power intervention could prevent them from taking Eelam. Claimed Balasingham: "In any case, they will not have all their army spare to fight us. We can create conditions in the south (which has a Sinhala majority) to keep them tied down there."

Obviously, even the Sri Lankan Government is not underestimating the rebel threat. Nor is it in a mood to throw in the towel without fighting. Defence sources confirm that a batch of Sri Lankan officers were recently sent to Malaysia for training in counter insurgency and jungle warfare. In the past, Sri Lankan officers have been trained in British academies. Of late, there has been evidence of the British Army's ultra-elite Special Air Service (SAS) commandos training the Sri Lankans.

The Government is procuring more and faster gunboats from China to effectively patrol the Palk Straits. Old, discarded armoured cars too are being sought from the Pakistani Army, which may not be of much use in the plains of Punjab but would present a daunting challenge in the Jaffna bush. Besides, the Government is rearming the troops with American M-16 rifles, some of which are provided with Rocket Propelled Grenades (RPG'S)

Interestingly, the desperate search for arms and training has sent both the guerrillas and the Sri Lanka Government shopping in the British mercenary markets, which have been regular suppliers to the African and Latin American guerrilla groups. For the guerrillas, the quest led to the hiring, instead of a sizeable number of retired Indian Army, Navy and BSF officers who have been training rebels. The Indian intelligence agencies have a list of such officers, some of whom have been half-heartedly warned to stay clear.

The Guerrillas await with anxiety President Jayewardene's visit to the US in June. There is speculation that he will ask for a substantial arms aid to equip the 6,000 new recruits that will raise his army's strength by 50 per cent. The rebels attach great importance to US Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger's recent visit to Sri Lanka, though the Government dismisses the visit as routine. "What matters of strategy could he have discussed with Weinberger in just 30 minutes, that too without aides?" asked a government spokesman.

The question, however, is what will Jayewardene give the West in return? The guerrilla ideologues say, and many in South Block agree, that it can be nothing but Trincomalee, one of the world's finest natural harbours perched strategically in the Indian Ocean. Somehow this suspicion persists despite denials by the Sri Lanka Government and US State Department spokesmen.

This also makes India's foreign policy planners so deeply involved in Sri Lankan affairs. Obviously, this is the coordinate along which the rebels are working in their quest for more direct help from India. As Sabaratnam said: "India's security is linked to our liberation. So while India determines the politics we play the role of the good soldiers." Western media reports that the Sri Lanka Government is building refuelling facilities for the US Navy at Trincomalee have bolstered the rebel's position.

Besides the Trincomalee question, Indian compulsions are also shaped by regional politics. The Sri Lankan Tamils have strong popular sympathy in Tamil Nadu. This puts the MGR Government in a fix. DMK President M. Karunanidhi has identified totally with the Sri Lanka Tamil cause.

MGR thus has no choice but to be soft towards the rebels, an approach transparently visible in his setting both Uma Maheswaran and Prabhakaran free from criminal charges and allowing all rebels to freely operate from Tamil Nadu. He also pressurised the Centre to issue Indian passports to some of the important rebel leaders. The most prominent among them is Uma Maheswaran, who recently visited Mauritius carrying a temporary Indian passport.

Yet MGR is under fire for not doing enough for the rebels. Even his party's chief whip, Era Janarthanan, has resigned in protest against the Government's "vague" policy towards the Sri Lankan Tamil cause. He says: "Silent support is hardly sufficient when the Sinhala Government is out to annihilate all the Tamils." Normally a politician known more for his capacity to make noise than for concrete action, Janarthanan surprised the diplomatic world in December by organising a world Tamil conference in Madras which was attended, among others, by Lim Kit Siang, an ethnic Chinese and leader of Malaysia's powerful Democratic Action Party. It is no secret that the Sri Lankan Tamils are being actively supported by the ethnic Tamil pressure groups in countries like Malaysia and Mauritius.

For the Indian Government, ethnic pressures are hard to ignore, although M.M.K. Wali, Union home secretary declined to comment on the situation, saying that "the Home Ministry really has nothing to say on this. The Congress (I) has to face widespread propaganda in Tamil Nadu that while Mrs. Gandhi used force so effectively to save Bengalis persecuted by the Pakistanis in 1971, she is now insensitive to Tamil suffering. That leaves South Block on the horns of a dilemma. If they throw out the Sri Lankan Tamils, the Centre loses face in Tamil Nadu. If they don't and continue to ignore their presence, Sri Lanka will continue to embarrass India in international forums. Even last fortnight, Prime Minister R. Premadasa told the Sri Lankan Parliament: "Tamil youths are being given terrorist training in Madras and other parts of South India. What would be the position if the Sikhs came to Sri Lanka to train in terrorism and fight for secession?"

Ideally, the way out still lies in a negotiated settlement which guarantees protection of Tamil interests under a system where they have the same rights as the Sinhalese. But as long as ethnic chauvinism holds sway, any regime that makes such a concession to the Tamils may not survive.

The troubled island republic seems to be in for a long spell of unrest. In the words of Vettivelu Yogeswaran: "Ceylon actually has no future. At best we will be the Lebanon of Asia." That is the last prospect India would want to have 25 km from its shores.

CSO: 4600/262

# ARTICLES EXAMINE TERRORISM IN COUNTRY

## National Security Minister's Comments

Colombo DAILY NEWS in English 26 Mar 84 pp 1, 12

[Text]

National Security Minister Lalith Athulathmudali asked Sinhala people in the south to stay unprovoked, unagitated but united to wipe out terrorism in the North.

"I vow to end the terrorist menace in the peninsula but you must not fight among yourselves and thus divert the attention of the armed forces here from the north," Mr. Athulathmudali said in the first public ceremony he attended in Horana after he was sworn in as the Minister of National Security and Deputy Minister of Defence.

Mr. Athulathmudali who was keeping a previous official engagement to inaugurate the first Export Production Village in Horana during the week-end said although the portfolios had changed, he reserved the right to continue in functions connected with the Export Production Villages scheme.

It was fortunate that his former deputy was now handling the affairs of the Ministry of Trade and Shipping which be-

gan the EPV scheme. He would have loved to continue the work in that ministry but now he had been called upon to engage himself in another sphere of import and export.

The minister said: "I have to change the manner of another import/export industry in the northern coast where there are illegal imports as well as exports. I don't promise miracles. But I shall certainly end that menace.

"We can achieve all this if we set out on the correct path. We will fail only if there is provocation and disturbances in these areas in the south; and if we fight here.

"Last week the people involved in this provocative exercises tried it once again but failed but there was near panic.

"Fortunately for us terrorist leaders write what they want to do. We don't write. We can learn from what they write. We will act silently.

"Uma Maheswaran's right hand man, a Marxist called Dr. Balasing-

ham has spilled the beans. He has said categorically how the terrorists hope to hit us. He has said whatever armed forces we have will be useless in the north because they will create disturbances in the Sinhala areas to divert the forces into these areas.

"Dr. Balasingham has said: "We can create the conditions that will tie down the Sri Lanka Army in the Sinhala areas." And they might try it. When something happens in the north we get provoked. A handful will get agitated emotionally and will not use their brains and engage in violence.

"So we will have to use the armed forces and police to quell such foolishness. That is exactly what the terrorists want - to create trouble in the south. It is a well set up plan.

"It involves the harassment of innocent Tamil people by the Sinhala people. These Tamil people are opposed to the division of the country. But this is what people like Dr. Balasingham say

and want to do.

"Last Thursday's scare stories were also well planned although abortive. Telephones were ringing and schools were closed.

"In a situation like that the police have to be used to contain such problems. This is the terrorist plan.

"My only appeal is don't fall into the trap

laid by Dr. Balasingham. You must explain to all people the real motive of this hideous plan. This is not a UNP, SLFP or LSSP matter. This message must be taken to all.

"If we can preserve the security and the peace here we can fight northern terrorism and we can win. Otherwise it will be a difficult task.

"If there is no national

security we cannot have projects like the Export Production Villages.

"Last July we had to temporarily stop our vegetable exports because of the disturbances. We can't have this kind of activity if there is no peace."

Mr. Indradasa Hettiarachchi, MP for Horana and District Minister for Kalutara also spoke.

### Wiping Out Terrorism

Colombo DAILY NEWS in English 26 Mar 84 p 12

[Text] The new Minister of National Security Lalith Athulathmudali visited the Kandy Dalada Maligawa yesterday and paid homage to the Sacred Tooth Relic. He also offered atapirikara to the Mahanayake theras of the Malwatta and Asgiriya chapters and received their blessings.

Mr. and Mrs. Athulathmudali were earlier met at the entrance to the Dalada Maligawa by Speaker E. L. Senanayake, Kandy's Mayor Tilak Ratnayake and GA, A. B. Damunupola.

Among others present were members of the Kandy Municipal Council and some members of

the Tamil community. Thereafter the Administrative Secretary of the Maligawa, M. B. Ekanayake handed over two trays of jasmynes to Mr. and Mrs. Athulathmudali and conducted them to the inner chamber of the Maligawa.

The maha sangha led by the Ven. Menikdiwela Sri Premaratana Anunayake thera of the Malwatta chapter chanted seth pirith.

In a brief statement to the press Mr. Athulathmudali said that wiping out terrorism and building a united Sri Lanka would be an easy task if people in the South assisted them by maintaining peace in their areas.

*He said people who treasured the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Sri Lanka should never fall into the traps laid by people like Dr. A. S. Balasingham.*

Unlike in the Trade Ministry he could not publicise future plans of his new ministry. His new ministry's plan of action would be known only when it bore fruit, he said.

The Ven. Palipane Chandananda Mahanayake thera of the Asgiriya Chapter described Mr. Athulathmudali as an efficient and intelligent minister and said his selection as National Security Minister would enable the Presi-

dent to achieve his goal with regard to peace in the country.

As a participant in the All Party Conference he believed that the ethnic problem needed a quick solution.

The Ven. Sirimalwatte Ananda Mahanayake thera of the Malwatta Chapter said Mr. Athulathmudali had come to pay homage to the Sacred Tooth Relic and obtain the blessings of the maha sangha after assuming his new office in keeping with national customs and traditions. He invoked the blessings of the Triple Gem on him and wished him strength and courage to perform his tasks well.

### Three Policemen Killed in Attack

Colombo DAILY NEWS in English 27 Mar 84 p 1

[Text] Three policemen were killed in a terrorist attack near the Point Pedro police station on Sunday night.

One report said the policemen, a sergeant and two constables, had been playing volleyball at a court close to the police station and had walked to a nearby tea boutique for refreshment after the game.

They were walking back to station when the terrorist group attacked them.

According to another report, two of the victims were walking back to station from the tea boutique, while their mates were playing volleyball when the attack took place.

They were hit by the gunfire and the terrorists turned on some other policemen in the station area. There was return fire and two members of the public were also shot dead – either killed by the terrorists or caught in the cross-fire.

A general security alert was sounded on Sunday night after the killings. A senior government spokesman stressed that it was most important that people in the South were not victims of the terrorist strategy of provoking violence outside the northern province.

Although the killings were a reverse for the anti-terrorist effort, the security forces scored a major success with a Naval patrol detecting 500 kg. of gelignite, a high explosive, 300 yards of cordex fuse and a large number of detonators a few miles off the northern coast.

Two of the men in the boat have admitted terrorist links, while three others claimed to be fishermen. They are being interrogated further.

The security authorities stress how very necessary it is people countrywide understand the the terrorists are now adopting a strategy of trying to provoke violence in the south.

The need to divert men and resources to meet such a situation affects deployment in the North for the anti-terrorist effort.

In recent days the security forces have apprehended some men high up the wanted list. Very useful information has been obtained and this is helping the authorities considerably.

The security forces are also tightening-up on their own men who have not strictly conformed to orders and procedures devised for their personal safety.

Official sources said that the two airmen in civvies who were killed in a bus in Jaffna, recently, had flouted orders in exposing themselves to attack.

National Security Minister Lalith Athulathmudali, said yesterday that he could not adequately stress the importance of people outside the North not falling prey to the terrorist tactic of keeping the forces occupied in the south to quell any violence provoked by incidents in the North.

"Nobody must fall victim to that ploy. Their leaders have admitted that tactic and it is essential that people understand their strategy and don't help them to realise their objectives by reacting to their provocations," he said.

#### Prime Minister Comments on Terrorism

Colombo DAILY NEWS in English 29 Mar 84 p 9

[Article by Tilak Senanayake]

[Text]

Prime Minister R. Premadasa who opened a new building of the National Council of YMMAs of Sri Lanka at Maligawatte Colombo on Tuesday said that people of all communities should make a united effort to wipe out terrorism from this country. At present terrorism was getting wiped out in all parts of the world.

The terrorist strategy was to drive a wedge between the major Sin-

hala community and the minorities and use such a situation for their own benefit. The government for its part would not allow such plans to succeed. However, people too should remain vigilant.

He was confident that all muslims would assist them in their endeavour to wipe out terrorism.

The Prime Minister who commended the National Council of YMMAs for the work done so far said it was

now opportune for it to widen the scope of its activities without restricting it to the traditional religious activities only.

Members of these associations should visit villages where other communities and religious groups lived and work to create national harmony and understanding he said.

Minister of Transport and Muslim Religious Affairs M. H. Mohamed said Muslims had always worked hand in hand

with the Sinhalese to usher in national progress and wefare from time immemorial.

Jabir A. Cader, 2nd MP for Colombo Central said Prime Minister R. Premadasa devoted al-

most 20 hours a day for the service of the people and his name would be recorded in Sri Lanka's contemporary history in letters of gold. Muslims were always against a division of the country and would help the gov-

ernment in all its efforts to wipe out terrorism.

Lafeer Cassim, Founder president of the National Council of YMMAs Sri Lanka and B. A. Husainniya, National president also spoke.

### National Security Minister Addresses Conference

Colombo DAILY NEWS in English 30 Mar 84 p 1

[Text]

Mr. Lalith Athulathmudali Minister of National Security yesterday exhorted the people not to fall prey to the plans of the terrorists in the North.

"Their strategy is to provoke the people in the South so that the armed forces can be kept occupied here. Then the terrorists would not only be able to do what they want in the North but paint the incidents in the South to the entire world so as to gain international sympathy", the minister said.

He added that by these methods they were also trying to get India to intervene but he was confident that the Central Government of India would never support such a move.

He was speaking at the annual conference of the Jathika Dumriya Sevaka Sangamaya (National Railway Workers' Union) held at the John de Silva Memorial Theatre.

This union, the minister said could help by protecting the railway tracks. It was essential

that all of them developed a self-protectionist attitude. Everything will come to a standstill if terrorism was allowed to continue. Therefore they should all unite to fight this menace.

He had consented to move from the Ministry of Trade to the new Ministry of National Security in order to be of greater service to the people.

"That is why I consented to accept this portfolio. It is not that I asked for it. Let us eschew all differences and accept this challenge", he said.

Mr. Athulathmudali said Prabhakaran had stated in India that their organisation had gained a lot from the July disturbances. He had stated that for ten to twelve years there were only a handful of supporters but the incidents in July made more people to rally round them. This is the sort of strategy the terrorists are adopting and I request you not to fall prey to their plans.

He wished the people in non-Tamil areas would keep calm and protect themselves from the machinations of terrorists to provoke them. "If the people follow this advice and remain unprovoked it would not be difficult to wipe out terrorism in the North very soon", he said.

Mr. Athulathmudali earlier said he was glad to have been able to attend that meeting. Ratmalana was synonymous with the railway workers.

He recalled that it was this union which first welcomed him when he was chosen to contest the Ratmalana seat in Parliament at the last general election.

Mr. M. H. Mohamed, Minister of Transport said that trade unions would have no meaning if they were not disciplined. Trade union officials had wide powers but they should not be abused.

The President did not want his Ministers to abuse their powers. It was good if trade union leaders followed this example. If anyone has

done wrong they should face the consequences. Trade unions should not seek to protect wrongdoers. On the contrary they should help in bringing such culprits to book. Democracy could work best in a society which consists of people of integrity and honesty. These qualities and worker discipline would augur well for the progress of trade unions. He was always prepared to discuss their problems.

Mr. Percy Samarawera, Deputy Minister of Home Affairs and Vice President of the Public Services National Trade Union Federation said they had reached a crucial stage in the history of the country.

He hoped they realised the significance of the speech made earlier by the Minister of National Security.

Mr. Douglas Abeydeera General Secretary of the PSNTUF. Mr. Lel-wala, acting General Manager of Railways and Mr. L. G. Piyadasa, deputy president of the union also spoke.

# NATIONAL SECURITY MINISTER COMMENTS ON TERRORISM

## Army Patrol Ambushed

Colombo THE ISLAND in English 10 Apr 84 pp 1, 3

[Article by D.B.S. Jeyaraj]

[Text]

The Minister of National Security, Mr. Lalith Athulathmudali, said yesterday that seven soldiers sustained injuries when an Army Patrol of 25 soldiers were ambushed by terrorists in Jaffna at 2 p.m. yesterday.

The Minister said that although the vehicle in which the soldiers were travelling in was damaged the terrorists were unable to bring about a repetition of the 1983 July ambush as the soldiers had promptly reacted and returned counter fire. In the ensuing make several people had been injured while one person, who was presumed to be a terrorist, had succumbed to the injuries.

Mr. Athulathmudali said that the soldiers were those who were detailed to escort and protect the Jaffna Mail train and were returning to their camp after performing a duty which benefited the residents of Jaffna.

He further said that the complete details of the incident were not known yet and that he was awaiting final confirmation.

Speaking at the inauguration of the Muslim Youth Forum of the All-Ceylon Muslim Youth League Front, Mr. Athulathmudali said that he was referring to the Northern incident as an example of the threats against the law and order in our society today.

The Minister of National Security who was addressing an organisation representing minority interests for the first time after assuming office said that although he was scheduled to speak at the UNP rally in Borrella he cancelled that in order to attend the Muslim Youth Forum.

Speaking further Mr. Athulathmudali said that terrorist agents and others unconsciously influenced by them will say that the Army was wrong to have acted in that manner in Jaffna. Others will say that the Army was right to have acted in that manner. The salient point Mr. Athulathmudali said was not whether the Army was right or wrong but that whatever the end result that

whole result would be wrong when law and order broke down.

He further said that the merchants of propaganda would try and capitalise on any incident. Referring to the Chunnakam incident he said that a North American paper had stated that 300 people were killed and 7 women were raped. He said that the emphasis on rape was placed in order to win the sympathy of the reader. Even at the time of the July incident it was propagated that the act was in retaliation to girls being raped. "But Prabhakaran, the Tiger Leader, who incidentally was born on the same day that he was born had said that it was it was to avenge the killing of his deputy, Charles Anthony Raj" stated Mr. Athulathmudali.

The Minister said that whatever view a citizen held, he must always protect law and order as the end result would always be wrong if law and order crumbled. The people of Jaffna, he said, were frightened to give information about terrorism.

Mr. Athulathmudali said that he was responsible for the discipline of the Armed Forces and that he would discharge his duties to that effect.

"But it is not physically possible for me to be next to the Corporal or Sergeant who is holding a gun. I do not know what pain, anxiety, stress or emotion he undergoes. I am not subject to the same feelings he has. It is difficult for me to control the man whose hand is on the trigger" he said.

He further said that he had granted leave to some personnel stationed in the North and East who complained to him that they were undergoing strain. "I gave them leave because those working under strain may break the law" he added.

Nobody denies that the Tamil community had a problem said Mr. Athulathmudali who went on to ask "Can we resolve that problem by breaking law and order?"

"My grouse is not about their problem which is

exaggerated at times and misstated at other times but nevertheless exists". My grouse is about the methods used the violent methods which are wrong", said Mr. Athulathmudali.

14 out of the 15 million people of this country were definitely not for separation. Could one million people fight the rest of the country and win he asked. Many of the thinking Tamils too were against separation although they voted for it" he said. He said that violence would never win the hearts and minds of the people or their support.

He said that the terrorists themselves knew they could not succeed in a straight fight. The J.V.P. who captured as large extent of the country and had much more men than the terrorists could hold out for only two weeks. "The Terrorists cannot last one week and they know it" said Mr. Athulathmudali. "That is why they are engaged in the pinpricking strategy of hitting and running instead of staying and fighting" he said. The Minister however said that there was one motive in the terrorist strategy which was to provoke the South. He said however that he was hopeful that the loophole was plugged.

"If we refuse to be provoked then there is nothing that could be done by the terrorists", he said.

He said that an Eelam of the Northern and Eastern provinces was not even geographically viable. The Polonnaruwa district is only six miles away from the Batticaloa coast; The Gal-Oya Dam is in the Uva district while the benefiting lands were in Amparai. There were no major rivers other than the Kanagan-Aru which originated in the north or east. The Peninzula was only 4½ ft above sea level if there was a tidal wave there would be no Peninzula violence cannot change geography "The main problem was lack of dialogue", he said. But what we must realise is that we will all be poorer if division comes and that we all have to continue living here. So we must promote dialogue.

The important things to note, said Mr. Athulathmudali, was that law and order must not break down, that the Tamil people must give information about terrorists and that terrorists should be treated as opponents and not as enemies.

Mr. Athulathmudali said that the Muslim community which enjoyed the confidence of the Sinhala and Tamil Communities must act as a bridge and help build unity among both communities.

The Minister without Portfolio Mr. Bakeer Markar presided over at the function.

### Curfew in Jaffna

Colombo THE ISLAND in English 11 Apr 84 p 1

[Text] Minister of National Security in an address to the nation following the declaration of the curfew in the Jaffna Municipal Council area said that attempts by terrorists to provoke Sinhala people into retaliatory acts had failed and appealed to the public to keep the peace in order to prevent terrorists from achieving their objectives.

The objective of the terrorists he said was to internationalise the issue in the hope of getting support for their cause from abroad.

The Minister who came over the radio yesterday afternoon said that the curfew was declared from 12 noon to 6 am.

The Minister said: "There is a need for me to speak to you about the situation in Jaffna. As a result of certain incidents this morning a curfew has been imposed within the municipal limits of Jaffna. You are aware that during the last few weeks and even yesterday the terrorist groups were involved in certain incidents which were designed to provoke the rest of the nation and thus gain their objectives as a result of the provocation. Today they attempted to escalate these incidents. They have done so because the earlier incidents were unsuccessful in their attempt to provoke the rest of the country.

"Today they attempted attacks on a school which is used by Sinhala medium students. The school is on holiday and they also attempted to attack the Buddhist temple in the heart of Jaffna town. The temple is the Naga Viharaya. This must not be confused with the historic Nagadeepa Temple which is on the island of Nagadeepa or Nainativu. That

historic temple is safe. But in the Jaffna town these attacks were made. They were not completely successful and the security forces have managed to put down the incidents. In the course of the measures taken by the security forces some of the terrorists have been shot dead. Other terrorists have been injured.

"We must remember that despite these acts of provocation our opposition is only to terrorists and terrorist activities. We must refuse to be provoked. To be provoked is to give in to the terrorists. That is what they want. They want to provoke all of us, particularly those who live outside the peninsula of Jaffna. They want to provoke all communities. They want to provoke particularly the Sinhala people and as a result of these acts of provocation they hope that they can turn to the world and show a different picture.

"Up to now we have refused to be fooled by this terrorist game. I appeal to you to continue to do so. We are not going to give into terrorists. We are not going to be taken for a ride by them. We are not going to be provoked by them.

"I believe we can win against terrorism. I believe we can win more and more of their supporters to understand that terrorism is a no win game. I appeal to you to continue to believe in the path of non-violence. I appeal to you to remain calm. I appeal to you to maintain peace in your home and your surroundings. That is the way you can help to win against terrorism."